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THE NOVELS
AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF DANIEL DE FOE.

VOLUME THE NINTH.

HISTORY OF THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.
THE CONSOLIDATOR.

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THE NOVELS

AND

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

DANIEL DE FOE.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, LITERARY PREFACES TO THE VARIOUS PIECES, ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, ETC. INCLUDING ALL CONTAINED IN THE EDITION ATTRIBUTED TO

THE LATE SIR WALTER SCOTT,

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

VOL. IX.

HISTORY OF THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.

THE CONSOLIDATOR.

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OXFORD:

PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS,

FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON.

1840.

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HISTORY OF THE PLAGUE

IN LONDON, IN 1665.

AND

THE CONSOLIDATOR.

IN ONE VOLUME.

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS,
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1840.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The History of the Great Plague in London is one of that particular class of compositions which hovers between romance and history. Undoubtedly De Foe embodied a number of traditions upon this subject with what he might actually have read, or of which he might otherwise have received direct evidence. This dreadful disease, which, in the language of Scripture, might be described as "the pestilence which walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noon-day," was indeed a fit subject for a pencil so veracious as that of De Foe. Had he not been the author of Robinson Crusoe, De Foe would have deserved immortality for the genius which he has displayed in this work.

Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, vol. iv. p. 290, ed. 1827.

HISTORY OF

THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.

It was about the beginning of September, 1664, that I, among the rest of my neighbours, heard, in ordinary discourse, that the plague was returned again in Holland; for it had been very violent there, and particularly at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in the year 1663, whither they say, it was brought, some said from Italy, others from the Levant, among some goods which were brought home by their Turkey fleet; others said it was brought from Candia; others from Cyprus. It mattered not from whence it came; but all agreed it was come into Holland again.

We had no such thing as printed newspapers in those days, to spread rumours and reports of things, and to improve them by the invention of men, as I have lived to see practised since. But such things as those were gathered from the letters of merchants, and others, who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only; so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation, as they do now. But it seems that the government had a true account of it, and several councils were held about ways to prevent its coming over, but all was kept very private. Hence it was, that this rumour died off again, and people began to forget it, as a thing we were very little concerned in, and that we hoped was not true; till the latter

end of November, or the beginning of December, 1664, when two men, said to be Frenchmen, died of the plague in Long-acre, or rather at the upper end of Drury-lane. The family they were in, endeavoured to conceal it as much as possible; but as it had gotten some vent in the discourse of the neighbourhood, the secretaries of state got knowledge of it. And concerning themselves to inquire about it, in order to be certain of the truth, two physicians and a surgeon were ordered to go to the house, and make inspection. This they did, and finding evident tokens of the sickness upon both the bodies that were dead, they gave their opinions publicly, that they died of the plague. Whereupon it was given in to the parish clerk, and he also returned them to the hall; and it was printed in the weekly bill of mortality in the usual manner, thus:

PLAGUE, 2. PARISHES INFECTED, 1.

The people showed a great concern at this, and began to be alarmed all over the town, and the more, because in the last week in December, 1664, another man died in the same house, and of the same distemper: and then we were easy again for about six weeks, when none having died with any marks of infection, it was said the distemper was gone; but after that, I think it was about the 12th of February, another died in another house, but in the same parish, and in the same manner.

This turned the people's eyes pretty much towards that end of the town; and the weekly bills showing an increase of burials in St. Giles's parish more than usual, it began to be suspected that the plague was among the people at that end of the town; and that many had died of it, though they had taken care to keep it as much from the knowledge of the public as possible. This possessed the heads of the

people very much, and few cared to go through Drury-lane, or the other streets suspected, unless they had extraordinary business, that obliged them to it.

This increase of the bills stood thus; the usual number of burials in a week, in the parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields, and St. Andrew's, Holborn, were from twelve to seventeen or nineteen each, few more or less; but from the time that the plague first began in St. Giles's parish, it was observed that the ordinary burials increased in number considerably. For example:

From Dec. 27th to Jan. 3rd,	St. Giles's	16
	St. Andrew's	17
Jan. 3rd to Jan. 10th,	St. Giles's	12
	St. Andrew's	25
Jan. 10th to Jan. 17th,	St. Giles's	18
	St. Andrew's	18
Jan. 17th to Jan. 24th,	St. Giles's	23
	St. Andrew's	16
Jan. 24th to Jan. 31st,	St. Giles's	24
	St. Andrew's	15
Jan. 31st to Feb. 7th,	St. Giles's	21
	St. Andrew's	23
Feb. 7th to Feb. 14th,	St. Giles's	24
Whereof one of the plague.		

The like increase of the bills was observed in the parishes of St. Bride's, adjoining on one side of Holborn parish, and in the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell, adjoining on the other side of Holborn; in both which parishes the usual numbers that died weekly, were from four to six or eight, whereas at that time they were increased as follows:

From Dec. 20th to Dec. 27th,	St. Bride's	0
	St. James	8
Dec. 27th to Jan. 3rd,	St. Bride's	6
	St. James	9
Jan. 3rd to Jan. 10th,	St. Bride's	11
	St. James	7
Jan. 10th to Jan. 17th,	St. Bride's	12
	St. James	9
Jan. 17th to Jan. 24th,	St. Bride's	9
	St. James	15
Jan. 24th, to Jan. 31st,	St. Bride's	8
	St. James	12
Jan. 31st to Feb. 7th,	St. Bride's	13
	St. James	5
Feb. 7th to Feb. 14th,	St. Bride's	12
	St. James	6

Besides this, it was observed with great uneasiness by the people, that the weekly bills in general increased very much during these weeks, although it was at a time of the year when usually the bills are very moderate.

The usual number of burials within the bills of mortality for a week, was from about two hundred-and-forty, or thereabouts, to three hundred. The last was esteemed a pretty high bill; but after this we found the bills successively increasing, as follows:

			Increased.
December 20, to the 27th,	Buried	291	
27, to the 3rd Jan.		349	58
January 3, to the 10th,		394	45
10, to the 17th,		415	21
17, to the 24th,		474	59

This last bill was really frightful, being a higher number than had been known to have been buried in one week, since the preceding visitation of 1656.

However, all this went off again, and the weather proving cold, and the frost, which began in December, still continuing very severe, even till near the end of February, attended with sharp though moderate winds, the bills decreased again, and the city grew healthy, and everybody began to look upon the danger as good as over; only that still the burials in St. Giles's continued high. From the beginning of April, especially, they stood at twenty-five each week, till the week from the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. Giles's parish thirty, whereof two of the plague, and eight of the spotted fever, which was looked upon as the same thing; likewise the number that died of the spotted fever in the whole increased, being eight the week before, and twelve the week above named.

This alarmed us all again, and terrible apprehensions were among the people, especially the weather being now changed and growing warm, and the summer being at hand: however, the next week there seemed to be some hopes again, the bills were low, the number of the dead in all was but 388, there was none of the plague, and but four of the spotted fever.

But the following week it returned again, and the distemper was spread into two or three other parishes, viz. St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement's-Danes, and, to the great affliction of the city, one died within the walls, in the parish of St. Mary-Wool-Church, that is to say, in Bearbinder-lane, near Stocks-market; in all there were nine of the plague, and six of the spotted fever. It was, however, upon inquiry, found, that this Frenchman who died in Bearbinder-lane, was one who, having lived

in Long-acre, near the infected houses, had removed for fear of the distemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and people had still some hopes: that which encouraged them was, that the city was healthy, the whole ninety-seven parishes buried but fifty-four, and we began to hope, that as it was chiefly among the people at that end of the town, it might go no further; and the rather, because the next week, which was from the 9th of May to the 16th, there died but three, of which not one within the whole city or liberties, and St. Andrew's buried but fifteen, which was very low. It is true, St. Giles's buried two-and-thirty, but still as there was but one of the plague, people began to be easy; the whole bill also was very low, for the week before, the bill was but 347, and the week above mentioned but 343. We continued in these hopes for a few days. But it was but for a few, for the people were no more to be deceived thus; they searched the houses, and found that the plague was really spread every way, and that many died of it every day, so that now all our extenuations abated, and it was no more to be concealed, nay, it quickly appeared that the infection had spread itself beyond all hopes of abatement; that in the parish of St. Giles's, it was gotten into several streets, and several families lay all sick together; and, accordingly, in the weekly bill for the next week, the thing began to show itself; there was indeed but fourteen set down of the plague, but this was all knavery and collusion; for St. Giles's parish, they buried forty in all, whereof it was certain most of them died of the plague, though they were set down of other distempers; and though the number of all the burials were not increased above thirty-

two, and the whole bill being but 385, yet there was fourteen of the spotted fever, as well as fourteen of the plague; and we took it for granted upon the whole, that there were fifty died that week of the plague.

The next bill was from the 23rd of May, to the 30th, when the number of the plague was seventeen; but the burials in St. Giles's were fifty-three, a frightful number! of whom they set down but nine of the plague: but on an examination more strictly by the justices of the peace, and at the lord mayor's request, it was found there were twenty more who were really dead of the plague in that parish, but had been set down of the spotted fever, or other distempers, besides others concealed.

But those were trifling things to what followed immediately after; for now the weather set in hot, and, from the first week in June, the infection spread in a dreadful manner, and the bills rise high, the articles of the fever, spotted fever, and teeth, began to swell: for all that could conceal their distempers, did it to prevent their neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to prevent authority shutting up their houses, which though it was not yet practised, yet was threatened, and people were extremely terrified at the thoughts of it.

The second week in June, the parish of St. Giles's, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the bills said but sixty-eight of the plague everybody said there had been a hundred at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish as above.

Till this week the city continued free, there having never any died except that one Frenchman, who I mentioned before, within the whole ninety-seven parishes. Now there died four within the

city, one in Wood-street, one in Fenchurch-street, and two in Crooked-lane: Southwark was entirely free, having not one yet died on that side of the water.

I lived without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate church and Whitechapel Bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy: but at the other end of the town their consternation was very great, and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the city, thronged out of town, with their families and servants in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in Whitechapel; that is to say, the Broad-street where I lived: indeed nothing was to be seen, but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c.; coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away; then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning, or sent from the country to fetch more people: besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and generally speaking, all loaded with baggage and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.

This was a very terrible and melancholy thing to see, and as it was a sight which I could not but look on from morning to night (for indeed there was nothing else of moment to be seen,) it filled me with very serious thoughts of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those that would be left in it.

This hurry of the people was such for some weeks, that there was no getting at the lord mayor's door without exceeding difficulty; there was such pressing

and crowding there to get passes and certificates of health, for such as travelled abroad; for, without these, there was no being admitted to pass through the towns upon the road, or to lodge in any inn. Now as there had none died in the city for all this time, my lord mayor gave certificates of health without any difficulty to all those who lived in the ninety-seven parishes, and to those within the liberties too for awhile.

This hurry, I say, continued some weeks, that is to say, all the months of May and June, and the more because it was rumoured that an order of the government was to be issued out, to place turnpikes and barriers on the road, to prevent people's travelling; and that the towns on the road would not suffer people from London to pass, for fear of bringing the infection along with them, though neither of these rumours had any foundation, but in the imagination, especially at first.

I now began to consider seriously with myself, concerning my own case, and how I should dispose of myself; that is to say, whether I should resolve to stay in London, or shut up my house and flee, as many of my neighbours did. I have set this particular down so fully, because I know not but it may be of moment to those who come after me, if they come to be brought to the same distress, and to the same manner of making their choice, and therefore I desire this account may pass with them rather for a direction to themselves to act by, than a history of my actings, seeing it may not be of one farthing value to them to note what became of me.

I had two important things before me; the one was the carrying on my business and shop; which was considerable, and in which was embarked all my effects in the world; and the other was the preservation of my life in so dismal a calamity, as I saw

apparently was coming upon the whole city; and which, however great it was, my fears perhaps, as well as other people's, represented to be much greater than it could be.

The first consideration was of great moment to me; my trade was a saddler, and as my dealings were chiefly not by a shop or chance trade, but among the merchants, trading to the English colonies in America, so my effects lay very much in the hands of such. I was a single man it is true, but I had a family of servants, who I kept at my business; had a house, shop, and warehouses filled with goods; and, in short, to leave them all as things in such a case must be left, that is to say, without any overseer or person fit to be trusted with them, had been to hazard the loss not only of my trade, but of my goods, and indeed of all I had in the world.

I had an elder brother at the same time in London, and not many years before come over from Portugal; and, advising with him, his answer was in three words, the same that was given in another case quite different, viz. Master, save thyself. In a word, he was for my retiring into the country, as he resolved to do himself, with his family; telling me, what he had, it seems, heard abroad, that the best preparation for the plague was to run away from it. As to my argument of losing my trade, my goods, or debts, he quite confuted me: he told me the same thing, which I argued for my staying, viz. That I would trust God with my safety and health, was the strongest repulse to my pretensions of losing my trade and my goods; For, says he, is it not as reasonable that you should trust God with the chance or risk of losing your trade, as that you should stay in so eminent a point of danger, and trust him with your life?

I could not argue that I was in any strait, as to

a place where to go, having several friends and relations in Northamptonshire, whence our family first came from; and particularly, I had an only sister in Lincolnshire, very willing to receive and entertain me.

My brother, who had already sent his wife and two children into Bedfordshire, and resolved to follow them, pressed my going very earnestly; and I had once resolved to comply with his desires, but at that time could get no horse: for though it is true, all the people did not go out of the city of London; yet I may venture to say, that in a manner all the horses did; for there was hardly a horse to be bought or hired in the whole city, for some weeks. Once I resolved to travel on foot with one servant; and as many did, lie at no inn, but carry a soldier's tent with us, and so lie in the fields, the weather being very warm, and no danger from taking cold. I say, as many did, because several did so at last, especially those who had been in the armies, in the war which had not been many years past; and I must needs say, that, speaking of second causes, had most of the people that travelled, done so, the plague had not been carried into so many country towns and houses, as it was, to the great damage, and indeed to the ruin of abundance of people.

But then my servant, who I had intended to take down with me, deceived me, and being frighted at the increase of the distemper, and not knowing when I should go, he took other measures, and left me, so I was put off for that time; and one way or other, I always found that to appoint to go away, was always crossed by some accident or other, so as to disappoint and put it off again; and this brings in a story which otherwise might be thought a needless digression, viz. about these disappointments being from heaven.

It came very warmly into my mind, one morning, as I was musing on this particular thing, that as nothing attended us without the direction or permission of Divine Power, so these disappointments must have something in them extraordinary; and I ought to consider whether it did not evidently point out, or intimate to me, that it was the will of Heaven I should not go. It immediately followed in my thoughts, that if it really was from God, that I should stay; he was able effectually to preserve me in the midst of all the death and danger that would surround me; and that if I attempted to secure myself by fleeing from my habitation, and acted contrary to these intimations, which I believed to be divine, it was a kind of flying from God, and that he could cause his justice to overtake me when and where he thought fit.

These thoughts quite turned my resolutions again, and when I came to discourse with my brother again, I told him, that I inclined to stay and take my lot in that station, in which God had placed me; and that it seemed to be made more especially my duty, on the account of what I have said.

My brother, though a very religious man himself, laughed at all I had suggested about its being an intimation from heaven, and told me several stories of such foolhardy people, as he called them, as I was; that I ought indeed to submit to it as a work of heaven, if I had been any way disabled by distempers or diseases, and that then not being able to go, I ought to acquiesce in the direction of Him, who, having been my Maker, had an undisputed right of sovereignty in disposing of me; and that then there had been no difficulty to determine which was the call of his providence, and which was not: but that I should take it as an intimation

from heaven, that I should not go out of town, only because I could not hire a horse to go, or my fellow was run away that was to attend me, was ridiculous, since at the same time I had my health and limbs, and other servants, and might with ease travel a day or two on foot, and having a good certificate of being in perfect health, might either hire a horse, or take post on the road, as I thought fit.

Then he proceeded to tell me of the mischievous consequences which attended the presumption of the Turks and Mahometans in Asia, and in other places, where he had been (for my brother being a merchant, was a few years before, as I have already observed, returned from abroad, coming last from Lisbon), and how, presuming upon their professed predestinating notions, and of every man's end being predetermined, and unalterably beforehand decreed, they would go unconcerned into infected places, and converse with infected persons, by which means they died at the rate of ten or fifteen thousand a week, whereas the Europeans, or Christian merchants, who kept themselves retired and reserved, generally escaped the contagion.

Upon these arguments my brother changed my resolutions again, and I began to resolve to go, and accordingly made all things ready; for, in short, the infection increased round me, and the bills were risen to almost seven hundred a week, and my brother told me, he would venture to stay no longer. I desired him to let me consider of it but till the next day, and I would resolve; and as I had already prepared everything as well as I could, as to my business, and who to intrust my affairs with, I had little to do but to resolve.

I went home that evening greatly oppressed in my mind, irresolute, and not knowing what to do.

I had set the evening wholly apart to consider seriously about it, and was all alone; for already people had, as it were by a general consent, taken up the custom of not going out of doors after sunset, the reasons I shall have occasion to say more of by and by.

In the retirement of this evening I endeavoured to resolve first, what was my duty to do, and I stated the arguments with which my brother had pressed me to go into the country, and I set against them the strong impressions which I had on my mind for staying; the visible call I seemed to have from the particular circumstance of my calling, and the care due from me for the preservation of my effects, which were, as I might say, my estate: also the intimations which I thought I had from heaven, that to me signified a kind of direction to venture, and it occured to me, that if I had what I call a direction to stay, I ought to suppose it contained a promise of being preserved, if I obeyed.

This lay close to me, and my mind seemed more and more encouraged to stay than ever, and supported with a secret satisfaction, that I should be kept. Add to this, that turning over the Bible, which lay before me, and while my thoughts were more than ordinary serious upon the question, I cried out, Well, I know not what to do, Lord direct me! and the like; and that juncture I happened to stop turning over the book, at the 91st Psalm, and casting my eye on the second verse, I read to the seventh verse exclusive; and after that, included the 10th, as follows:— "I will say of the Lord, he is my refuge, and my fortress, my God, in him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth

shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day: nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord which is my refuge, even the most high, thy habitation: there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling," &c.

I scarce need tell the reader, that from that moment I resolved that I would stay in the town, and casting myself entirely upon the goodness and protection of the Almighty, would not seek any other shelter whatever; and that as my times were in his hands, he was as able to keep me in a time of the infection, as in a time of health; and if he did not think fit to deliver me, still I was in his hands, and it was meet he should do with me as should seem good to him.

With this resolution I went to bed; and I was further confirmed in it the next day, by the woman being taken ill with whom I had intended to intrust my house and all my affairs. But I had a further obligation laid on me on the same side, for the next day I found myself very much out of order also; so that if I would have gone away, I could not, and I continued ill three or four days, and this entirely determined my stay; so I took my leave of my brother, who went away to Dorking, in Surry, and afterwards fetched a round further into Buckinghamshire, or Bedfordshire, to a retreat he had found out there for his family.

It was a very ill time to be sick in, for if any one complained, it was immediately said he had the

plague; and though I had indeed no symptoms of that distemper, yet being very ill, both in my head and in my stomach, I was not without apprehension, that I really was infected, but in about three days I grew better, the third night I rested well, sweated a little, and was much refreshed; the apprehensions of its being the infection went also quite away with my illness, and I went about my business as usual.

These things however put off all my thoughts of going into the country; and my brother also being gone, I had no more debate either with him, or with myself, on that subject.

It was now mid July, and the plague, which had chiefly raged at the other end of the town, and as I said before, in the parishes of St. Giles's, St. Andrew's, Holborn, and towards Westminster, began now to come eastward, towards the part where I lived. It was to be observed indeed, that it did not come straight on towards us; for the city, that is to say within the walls, was indifferent healthy still; nor was it got then very much over the water into Southwark; for though there died that week 1268 of all distempers, whereof it might be supposed above nine hundred died of the plague; yet there was but twenty-eight in the whole city, within the walls, and but nineteen in Southwark, Lambeth parish included; whereas in the parishes of St Giles, and St Martin's in the Fields alone, there died four hundred and twenty-one.

But we perceived the infection kept chiefly in the out parishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the city, as I shall observe afterward; we perceived, I say, the distemper to draw our way, viz. by the parishes of Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, and Bishopsgate; which

last two parishes joining to Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, the infection came at length to spread its utmost rage and violence in those parts, even when it abated at the western parishes where it began.

It was very strange to observe, that in this particular week, from the 4th to the 11th of July, when, as I have observed, there died near four hundred of the plague in the two parishes of St. Martin's, and St. Giles's in the Fields only, there died in the parish of Aldgate but four, in the parish of Whitechapel three, in the parish of Stepney but one.

Likewise in the next week, from the 11th of July to the 18th, when the week's bill was 1761, yet there died no more of the plague, on the whole Southwark side of the water, than sixteen.

But this face of things soon changed, and it began to thicken in Cripplegate parish especially, and in Clerkenwell; so that by the second week in August, Cripplegate parish alone, buried eight hundred and eighty-six, and Clerkenwell one hundred and fifty-five; of the first, eight hundred and fifty might well be reckoned to die of the plague; and of the last, the bill itself said, one hundred and forty-five were of the plague.

During the month of July, and while, as I have observed, our part of the town seemed to be spared in comparison of the west part, I went ordinarily about the streets, as my business required, and particularly went generally once in a day, or in two days, into the city, to my brother's house, which he had given me charge of, and to see it was safe; and having the key in my pocket, I used to go into the house, and over most of the rooms, to see that all was well; for though it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened, in

the midst of such a calamity, as to rob and steal; yet certain it is, that all sorts of villanies, and even levities and debaucheries, were then practised in the town, as openly as ever, I will not say quite as frequently, because the number of people were many ways lessened.

But the city itself began now to be visited too, I mean within the walls; but the number of people there were, indeed, extremely lessened, by so great a multitude having been gone into the country; and even all this month of July, they continued to flee, though not in such multitudes as formerly. In August indeed, they fled in such a manner, that I began to think there would be really none but magistrates and servants left in the city.

As they fled now out of the city, so I should observe, that the court removed early, viz. in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve them; and the distemper did not, as I heard of, so much as touch them; for which I cannot say, that I ever saw they showed any great token of thankfulness, and hardly anything of reformation, though they did not want being told that their crying vices might, without breach of charity, be said to have gone far, in bringing that terrible judgment upon the whole nation.

The face of London was now indeed strangely altered, I mean the whole mass of buildings, city, liberties, suburbs, Westminster, Southwark, and altogether; for, as to the particular part called the city, or within the walls, that was not yet much infected; but in the whole, the face of things, I say, was much altered; sorrow and sadness sat upon every face, and though some part were not yet overwhelmed, yet all looked deeply concerned; and as we saw it apparently coming on, so every one looked on himself, and his family, as in the utmost

danger: were it possible to represent those times exactly, to those that did not see them, and give the reader due ideas of the horror that everywhere presented itself, it must make just impressions upon their minds, and fill them with surprise. London might well be said to be all in tears; the mourners did not go about the streets indeed, for nobody put on black, or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friends; but the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets; the shrieks of women and children at the windows and doors of their houses, where their nearest relations were, perhaps dying, or just dead, were so frequent to be heard, as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart in the world to hear them. Tears and lamentations were seen almost in every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for towards the latter end, men's hearts were hardened, and death was so always before their eyes, that they did not so much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned the next hour.

Business led me out sometimes to the other end of the town, even when the sickness was chiefly there; and as the thing was new to me, as well as to everybody else, it was a most surprising thing to see those streets, which were usually so thronged, now grown desolate, and so few people to be seen in them, that if I had been a stranger, and at a loss for my way, I might sometimes have gone the length of a whole street, I mean of the by-streets, and see nobody to direct me, except watchmen set at the doors of such houses as were shut up; of which I shall speak presently.

One day, being at that part of the town, on some special business, curiosity led me to observe things more than usually; and indeed I walked a great

way where I had no business; I went up Holborn, and there the street was full of people; but they walked in the middle of the great street, neither on one side or other, because, as I suppose, they would not mingle with anybody that came out of houses, or meet with smells and scents from houses that might be infected.

The inns of court were all shut up, nor were very many of the lawyers in the Temple, or Lincoln's-inn, or Gray's-inn, to be seen there. Everybody was at peace, there was no occasion for lawyers; besides, it being in the time of the vacation too, they were generally gone into the country. Whole rows of houses in some places, were shut close up, the inhabitants all fled, and only a watchman or two left.

When I speak of rows of houses being shut up, I do not mean shut up by the magistrates; but that great numbers of persons followed the court, by the necessity of their employments, and other dependencies; and as others retired, really frighted with the distemper, it was a mere desolating of some of the streets: but the fright was not yet near so great, in the city, abstractedly so called; and particularly because, though they were at first in a most inexpressible consternation, yet, as I have observed, that the distemper intermitted often at first, so they were as it were alarmed, and unalarmed again, and this several times, till it began to be familiar to them; and that even when it appeared violent, yet seeing it did not presently spread into the city, or the east or south parts, the people began to take courage, and to be, as I may say, a little hardened. It is true, a vast many people fled, as I have observed, yet they were chiefly from the west end of the town, and from that we call the heart of the city, that is to say, among the wealthiest of the

people; and such persons as were unincumbered with trades and business. But of the rest, the generality stayed, and seemed to abide the worst; so that in the place we call the liberties, and in the suburbs, in Southwark, and in the east part, such as Wapping, Ratcliff, Stepney, Rotherhithe, and the like, the people generally stayed, except here and there a few wealthy families, who, as above, did not depend upon their business.

It must not be forgot here, that the city and suburbs were prodigiously full of people at the time of this visitation, I mean at the time that it began; for though I have lived to see a further increase, and mighty throngs of people settling in London, more than ever; yet we had always a notion that numbers of people, which, the wars being over, the armies disbanded, and the royal family and the monarchy being restored, had flocked to London to settle in business, or to depend upon, and attend the court for rewards of services, preferments, and the like, was such, that the town was computed to have in it above a hundred thousand people more than ever it held before; nay, some took upon them to say, it had twice as many, because all the ruined families of the royal party flocked hither; all the soldiers set up trades here, and abundance of families settled here; again, the court brought with it a great flux of pride and new fashions; all people were gay and luxurious, and the joy of the restoration had brought a vast many families to London.

But I must go back again to the beginning of this surprising time; while the fears of the people were young, they were increased strangely by several odd accidents, which put altogether, it was really a wonder the whole body of the people did not rise as one man and abandon their dwellings, leaving the place as a space of ground designed by heaven

for an Akeldama, doomed to be destroyed from the face of the earth, and that all that would be found in it would perish with it. I shall name but a few of these things; but sure they were so many, and so many wizards and cunning people propagating them, that I have often wondered there was any (women especially) left behind.

In the first place, a blazing star or comet appeared for several months before the plague, as there did the year after another, a little before the fire; the old women, and the phlegmatic hypocondriac part of the other sex, whom I could almost call old women too, remarked, especially afterward, though not till both those judgments were over, that those two comets passed directly over the city, and that so very near the houses, that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the city alone. That the comet before the pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow; but, that the comet before the fire, was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious, and that, accordingly, one foretold a heavy judgment slow but severe, terrible, and frightful, as was the plague. But the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift, and fiery, as was the conflagration; nay, so particular some people were, that as they looked upon that comet preceding the fire, they fancied that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could perceive the motion with their eye, but even they heard it, that it made a rushing mighty noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance, and but just perceivable.

I saw both these stars, and I must confess, had had so much of the common notion of such things in my head, that I was apt to look upon them as the forerunners and warnings of God's judgments,

and especially when the plague had followed the first, I yet saw another of the like kind, I could not but say, God had not yet sufficiently scourged the city.

The apprehensions of the people were likewise strangely increased by the error of the times, in which, I think, the people, from what principle I cannot imagine, were more addicted to prophecies, and astrological conjurations, dreams, and old wives' tales, than ever they were before or since: whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by the follies of some people who got money by it, that is to say, by printing predictions and prognostications, I know not; but certain it is, books frighted them terribly; such as Lily's Almanack, Gadbury's Astrological Predictions, Poor Robin's Almanack, and the like; also several pretended religious books, one entitled, Come out of Her my People, lest ye be partaker of her Plagues; another called, Fair Warning; another, Britain's Remembrancer, and many such; all, or most part of which, foretold directly or covertly, the ruin of the city: nay, some were so enthusiastically bold, as to run about the streets with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the city; and one in particular, who like Jonah to Nineveh, cried in the streets, Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed. I will not be positive, whether he said yet forty days, or yet a few days. Another ran about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, Woe to Jerusalem! a little before the destruction of that city: so this poor naked creature cried, O! the great, and the dreadful God! and said no more, but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever

find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance, at least that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me, or any one else; but kept on his dismal cries continually.

These things terrified the people to the last degree; and especially when two or three times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two in the bills, dead of the plague at St. Giles's.

Next to these public things, were the dreams of old women; or, I should say, the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put abundance of people even out of their wits. Some heard voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a plague in London, so that the living would not be able to bury the dead; others saw apparitions in the air, and I must be allowed to say of both, I hope without breach of charity, that they heard voices that never spake, and saw sights that never appeared; but the imagination of the people was really turned wayward and possessed; and no wonder if they who were poring continually at the clouds, saw shapes and figures, representations and appearances, which had nothing in them but air and vapour. Here they told us they saw a flaming sword held in a hand, coming out of a cloud, with a point hanging directly over the city. There they saw hearses and coffins in the air carrying to be buried. And there again, heaps of dead bodies lying unburied and the like; just as the imagination of the poor terrified people furnished them with matter to work upon.

So hypocondriac fancies represent
Ships, armies, battles, in the firmament;

Till steady eyes the exhalations solve,
And all to its first matter, cloud, resolve.

I could fill this account with the strange relations such people give every day of what they have seen; and every one was so positive of their having seen what they pretended to see, that there was no contradicting them, without breach of friendship, or being accounted rude and unmannerly on the one hand, and profane and impenetrable on the other. One time before the plague was begun, otherwise than as I have said in St. Giles's, I think it was in March, seeing a crowd of people in the street, I joined with them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air to see what a woman told them appeared plain to her, which was an angel clothed in white, with a fiery sword in his hand, waving it or brandishing it over his head. She described every part of the figure to the life, showed them the motion and the form, and the poor people came into it so eagerly and with so much readiness: Yes! I see it all plainly, says one, there's the sword as plain as can be; another saw the angel; one saw his very face, and cried out, What a glorious creature he was! One saw one thing, and one another. I looked as earnestly as the rest, but, perhaps, not with so much willingness to be imposed upon; and I said indeed, that I could see nothing but a white cloud, bright on one side, by the shining of the sun upon the other part. The woman endeavoured to show it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which, indeed, if I had, I must have lied: but the woman turning to me looked me in the face and fancied I laughed, in which her imagination deceived her too, for I really did not laugh, but was seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force

of their own imagination. However, she turned to me, called me profane fellow, and a scoffer, told me that it was a time of God's anger, and dreadful judgments were approaching, and that despisers, such as I, should wander and perish.

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as she, and I found there was no persuading them that I did not laugh at them, and that I should be rather mobbed by them than be able to undeceive them. So I left them, and this appearance passed for as real as the blazing star itself.

Another encounter I had in the open day also; and this was in going through a narrow passage from Petty-France into Bishopsgate churchyard, by a row of almshouses; there are two churchyards to Bishopsgate church or parish, one we go over to pass from the place called Petty-France into Bishopsgate-street, coming out just by the church door, the other is on the side of the narrow passage where the almshouses are on the left, and a dwarf wall with a palisade on it on the right hand, and the city wall on the other side more to the right.

In this narrow passage stands a man looking through the palisades into the burying-place, and as many people as the narrowness of the place would admit to stop without hindering the passage of others, and he was talking mighty eagerly to them, and pointing now to one place, then to another, and affirming that he saw a ghost walking upon such a gravestone there; he described the shape, the posture, and the movement of it so exactly, that it was the greatest amazement to him in the world that everybody did not see it as well as he. On a sudden he would cry, There it is! Now it comes this way! then, 'Tis turned back! till at length he persuaded the people into so firm a be-

lief of it, that one fancied he saw it; and thus he came every day making a strange hubbub, considering it was so narrow a passage, till Bishopsgate clock struck eleven, and then the ghost would seem to start, and, as if he were called away, disappeared on a sudden.

I looked earnestly every way and at the very moment that this man directed, but could not see the least appearance of anything, but so positive was this poor man that he gave them vapours in abundance, and sent them away trembling and frightened, till at length few people that knew of it cared to go through that passage, and hardly anybody by night on any account whatever.

This ghost, as the poor man affirmed, made signs to the houses, and to the ground, and to the people, plainly intimating, or else they so understanding it, that abundance of people should come to be buried in that churchyard, as indeed happened, but then he saw such aspects, I must acknowledge I never believed, nor could I see anything of it myself, though I looked most earnestly to see it if possible.

Some endeavours were used to suppress the printing of such books as terrified the people, and to frighten the dispersers of them, some of whom were taken up, but nothing done in it, as I am informed, the government being unwilling to exasperate the people, who were, as I may say, all out of their wits already.

Neither can I acquit those ministers, that, in their sermons, rather sunk than lifted up the hearts of their hearers, many of them I doubt not did it for the strengthening the resolution of the people, and especially for quickening them to repentance; but it certainly answered not their end, at least not in proportion to the injury it did another way.

One mischief always introduces another; these terrors and apprehensions of the people led them to a thousand weak, foolish, and wicked things, which they wanted not a sort of people really wicked to encourage them to, and this was running about to fortune-tellers, cunning men, and astrologers, to know their fortunes, or, as it is vulgarly expressed, to have their fortunes told them, their nativities calculated, and the like, and this folly presently made the town swarm with a wicked generation of pretenders to magic, to the black art, as they called it, and I know not what; nay, to a thousand worse dealings with the devil than they were really guilty of, and this trade grew so open and so generally practised that it became common to have signs and inscriptions set up at doors, Here lives a fortune-teller; Here lives an astrologer; Here you may have your nativity calculated; and the like; and friar Bacon's brazen-head, which was the usual sign of these people's dwellings, was to be seen almost in every street, or else the sign of Mother Shipton, or of Merlin's head, and the like.

With what blind, absurd, and ridiculous stuff these oracles of the devil pleased and satisfied the people, I really know not, but certain it is, that innumerable attendants crowded about their doors every day; and if but a grave fellow in a velvet jacket, a band, and a black cloak, which was the habit those quack-conjurors generally went in, was but seen in the streets, the people would follow them in crowds and ask them questions as they went along.

The case of poor servants was very dismal, as I shall have occasion to mention again, by and by; for it was apparent a prodigious number of them would be turned away, and it was so, and of them abundance perished, and particularly those whom

these false prophets flattered with hopes that they should be kept in their services and carried with their masters and mistresses into the country; and had not public charity provided for these poor creatures, whose number was exceeding great, and in all cases of this nature must be so, they would have been in the worst condition of any people in the city.

These things agitated the minds of the common people for many months while the first apprehensions were upon them, and while the plague was not, as I may say, yet broken out: but I must also not forget that the more serious part of the inhabitants behaved after another manner; the government encouraged their devotion, and appointed public prayers and days of fasting and humiliation, to make public confession of sin, and implore the mercy of God, to avert the dreadful judgment which hangs over their heads; and, it is not to be expressed with what alacrity the people of all persuasions embraced the occasion, how they flocked to the churches and meetings, and they were all so thronged that there was often no coming near, even to the very doors of the largest churches: also, there were daily prayers appointed morning and evening at several churches, and days of private praying at other places, at all which, the people attended, I say, with an uncommon devotion; several private families also, as well of one opinion as another, kept family fasts, to which they admitted their near relations only; so that, in a word, those people who were really serious and religious, applied themselves in a truly Christian manner to the proper work of repentance and humiliation, as a Christian people ought to do.

Again, the public showed that they would bear their share in these things; the very court, which

was then gay and luxurious, put on a face of just concern for the public danger. All the plays and interludes, which, after the manner of the French court, had been set up and began to increase among us, were forbid to act; the gaming-tables, public dancing rooms, and music houses, which multiplied and began to debauch the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed; and the jack-puddings, merry-andrews, puppet-shows, rope-dancers, and such-like doings, which had bewitched the common people, shut their shops, finding indeed no trade, for the minds of the people were agitated with other things, and a kind of sadness and horror at these things sat upon the countenances even of the common people; death was before their eyes, and everybody began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions.

But even these wholesome reflections, which, rightly managed, would have most happily led the people to fall upon their knees, make confession of their sins, and look up to their merciful Saviour for pardon, imploring his compassion on them in such a time of their distress, by which we might have been as a second Nineveh, had a quite contrary extreme in the common people; who, ignorant and stupid in their reflections, as they were brutishly wicked and thoughtless before, were now led by their fright to extremes of folly; and, as I said before, that they ran to conjurers and witches and all sorts of deceivers, to know what should become of them, who fed their fears and kept them always alarmed and awake, on purpose to delude them and pick their pockets, so they were as mad upon their running after quacks and mountebanks, and every practising old woman for medicines and remedies, storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions, and preservatives, as they were called, that

they not only spent their money but poisoned themselves beforehand for fear of the poison of the infection, and prepared their bodies for the plague instead of preserving them against it. On the other hand, it was incredible, and scarce to be imagined, how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plastered over with doctors' bills, and papers of ignorant fellows quacking and tampering in physic, and inviting people to come to them for remedies, which was generally set off with such flourishes as these, viz. INFALLIBLE preventitive pills against the plague. NEVER-FAILING preservatives against the infection. SOVEREIGN cordials against the corruption of air. EXACT regulations for the conduct of the body in case of infection. Antipestilential pills. INCOMPARABLE drink against the plague, never found out before. An UNIVERSAL remedy for the plague. The ONLY TRUE plague-water. The ROYAL ANTIDOTE against all kinds of infection: and such a number more that I cannot reckon up, and if I could, would fill a book of themselves to set them down.

Others set up bills to summon people to their lodgings for direction and advice in the case of infection; these had specious titles also, such as these:

An eminent High-Dutch physician, newly come over from Holland, where he resided during all the time of the great plague, last year, in Amsterdam, and cured multitudes of people that actually had the plague upon them.

An Italian gentlewoman just arrived from Naples, having a choice secret to prevent infection, which she found out by her great experience, and did wonderful cures with it in the late

plague there, wherein there died 20,000 in one day.

An ancient gentlewoman having practised with great success in the late plague in this city, anno 1636, gives her advice only to the female sex. To be spoken with, &c.

An experienced physician, who has long studied the doctrine of antidotes against all sorts of poison and infection, has, after forty years' practice, arrived at such skill as may, with God's blessing, direct persons how to prevent being touched by any contagious distemper whatsoever. He directs the poor gratis.

I take notice of these by way of specimen; I could give you two or three dozen of the like, and yet have abundance left behind. It is sufficient from these to apprise any one of the humour of those times, and how a set of thieves and pick-pockets not only robbed and cheated the poor people of their money, but poisoned their bodies with odious and fatal preparations; some with mercury, and some with other things as bad, perfectly remote from the thing pretended to, and rather hurtful than serviceable to the body in case an infection followed.

I cannot omit a subtlety of one of those quack-operators with which he gulled the poor people to crowd about him, but did nothing for them without money. He had, it seems, added to his bills, which he gave out in the streets, this advertisement in capital letters, viz. He gives advice to the poor for nothing.

Abundance of people came to him accordingly, to whom he made a great many fine speeches, examined them of the state of their health, and of the

constitution of their bodies, and told them many good things to do which were of no great moment; but the issue and conclusion of all was, that he had a preparation, which, if they took such a quantity of, every morning, he would pawn his life that they should never have the plague, no, though they lived in the house with people that were infected. This made the people all resolve to have it, but then, the price of that was so much, I think it was half-a-crown; But, sir, says one poor woman, I am a poor almswoman, and am kept by the parish, and your bills say, you give the poor your help for nothing. Ay, good woman, says the doctor, so I do, as I published there, I give my advice, but not my physic! Alas, sir, says she, that is a snare laid for the poor then, for you give them your advice for nothing; that is to say, you advise them gratis, to buy your physic for their money, so does every shopkeeper with his wares. Here the woman began to give him ill words, and stood at his door all that day, telling her tale to all the people that came, till the doctor, finding she turned away his customers, was obliged to call her up stairs again and give her his box of physic for nothing, which, perhaps too, was good for nothing when she had it.

But, to return to the people, whose confusions fitted them to be imposed upon by all sorts of pretenders and by every mountebank. There is no doubt but these quacking sort of fellows raised great gains out of the miserable people, for we daily found the crowds that ran after them were infinitely greater, and their doors were more thronged than those of Dr. Brooks, Dr. Upton, Dr. Hodges, Dr. Berwick, or any, though the most famous men of the time; and I was told that some of them got 5*l.* a day by their physic.

But there was still another madness beyond all

this, which may serve to give an idea of the distracted humour of the poor people at that time, and this was their following a worse sort of deceivers than any of these, for these petty thieves only deluded them to pick their pockets and get their money, in which their wickedness, whatever it was, lay chiefly on the side of the deceiver's deceiving, not upon the deceived; but in this part I am going to mention, it lay chiefly in the people deceived, or equally in both; and this was in wearing charms, philters, exorcisms, amulets, and I know not what preparations to fortify the body against the plague, as if the plague was not the hand of God, but a kind of a possession of an evil spirit, and it was to be kept off with crossings, signs of the zodiac, papers tied up with so many knots, and certain words or figures written on them, as particularly, the word Abracadabra, formed in triangle or pyramid, thus:

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACADAB
ABRACADA
ABRACAD
ABRACA
ABRAC
ABRA
ABR
AB
A

Others had the Jesuits' mark in a cross:

I H
S

Others had nothing but this mark, thus:

+

I might spend a great deal of my time in exclamations against the follies, and indeed the wickednesses of those things, in a time of such danger, in a matter of such consequence as this of a national infection; but my memorandums of these things relate rather to take notice of the fact, and mention

only that it was so. How the poor people found the insufficiency of those things, and how many of them were afterwards carried away in the dead-carts, and thrown into the common graves of every parish with these hellish charms and trumpery hanging about their necks, remains to be spoken of as we go along.

All this was the effect of the hurry the people were in, after the first notion of the plague being at hand, was among them, and which may be said to be from about Michaelmas, 1664, but more particularly after the two men died in St. Giles's in the beginning of December; and again after another alarm in February, for when the plague evidently spread itself, they soon began to see the folly of trusting to these unperforming creatures, who had gulled them of their money, and then their fears worked another way, namely, to amazement and stupidity, not knowing what course to take or what to do, either to help or to relieve themselves, but they ran about from one neighbour's house to another, and even in the streets, from one door to another with repeated cries of, Lord have mercy upon us, what shall we do?

I am supposing now, the plague to have begun, as I have said, and that the magistrates began to take the condition of the people into their serious consideration; what they did as to the regulation of the inhabitants, and of infected families I shall speak to by itself; but, as to the affair of health, it is proper to mention here, my having seen the foolish humour of the people in running after quacks, mountebanks, wizards, and fortune-tellers, which they did as above even to madness. The lord mayor, a very sober and religious gentleman, appointed physicians and surgeons for the relief of the poor, I mean the

diseased poor, and, in particular, ordered the college of physicians to publish directions for cheap remedies for the poor in all the circumstances of the distemper. This indeed was one of the most charitable and judicious things that could be done at that time, for this drove the people from haunting the doors of every disperser of bills, and from taking down blindly and without consideration, poison for physic, and death instead of life.

This direction of the physicians was done by a consultation of the whole college, and as it was particularly calculated for the use of the poor, and for cheap medicines, it was made public, so that everybody might see it, and copies were given gratis to all that desired it: but as it is public and to be seen on all occasions, I need not give the reader of this the trouble of it.

It remains to be mentioned now, what public measures were taken by the magistrates for the general safety, and to prevent the spreading of the distemper when it broke out; I shall have frequent occasion to speak of the prudence of the magistrates, their charity, their vigilance for the poor, and for preserving good order, furnishing provisions, and the like, when the plague was increased as it afterwards was. But I am now upon the order and regulations which they published for the government of infected families.

I mentiond above shutting of houses up, and it is needful to say something, particularly to that; for this part of the history of the plague is very melancholy; but the most grievous story must be told.

About June, the lord mayor of London, and the court of aldermen, as I have said, began more particularly to concern themselves for the regulation of the city.

The justices of the peace for Middlesex, by direction of the secretary of state, had begun to shut up houses in the parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields, St. Martin's, St. Clement's Danes, &c., and it was with good success, for in several streets where the plague broke out, upon strict guarding the houses that were infected, and taking care to bury those that died as soon as they were known to be dead, the plague ceased in those streets. It was also observed that the plague decreased sooner in those parishes after they had been visited to the full, than it did in the parishes of Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Stepney, and others; the early care taken in that manner being a great means to the putting a check to it.

This shutting up of the houses was a method first taken, as I understand, in the plague which happened in 1603, at the coming of king James I. to the crown, and the power of shutting people up in their own houses was granted by act of parliament, entitled, An act for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with plague. On which act of parliament, the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, founded the order they made at this time, and which took place the 1st of July, 1665, when the numbers of infected within the city were but few, the last bill for the ninety-two parishes being but four, and some houses having been shut up in the city, and some people being removed to the pesthouse beyond Bunhill-fields, in the way to Islington; I say, by these means, when there died near one thousand a week in the whole, the number in the city was but twenty-eight; and the city was preserved more healthy in proportion, than any other place all the time of the infection.

These orders of my lord mayor's were published,

as I have said, the latter end of June, and took place from the 1st of July, and were as follow, viz.

ORDERS CONCEIVED AND PUBLISHED BY THE LORD MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF LONDON, CONCERNING THE INFECTION OF THE PLAGUE; 1665.

WHEREAS in the reign of our late sovereign king James, of happy memory, an act was made for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague; whereby authority was given to justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers, to appoint within their several limits examiners, searchers, watchmen, keepers, and buriers, for the persons and places infected, and to minister unto them oaths for the performance of their offices; and the same statute did also authorise the giving of their directions, as unto them for other present necessity should seem good in their discretions. It is now upon special consideration, thought very expedient for preventing and avoiding of infection of sickness, (if it shall please Almighty God,) that these officers following be appointed, and these orders hereafter duly observed.

Examiners to be appointed to every Parish.

First, it is thought requisite, and so ordered, that in every parish there be one, two, or more persons of good sort and credit chosen by the alderman, his deputy, and common-council of every ward, by the name of examiners, to continue in that office for the space of two months at least: and, if any fit person

so appointed, shall refuse to undertake the same, the said parties so refusing to be committed to prison until they shall conform themselves accordingly.

The Examiner's office.

That these examiners be sworn by the aldermen to inquire and learn from time to time what houses in every parish be visited, and what persons be sick, and of what diseases, as near as they can inform themselves, and, upon doubt in that case, to command restraint of access until it appear what the disease shall prove; and if they find any person sick of the infection, to give order to the constable that the house be shut up; and if the constable shall be found remiss and negligent, to give notice thereof to the alderman of the ward.

Watchmen.

That to every infected house there be appointed two watchmen, one for every day and the other for the night, and that these watchmen have a special care that no person go in or out of such infected houses whereof they have the charge, upon pain of severe punishment. And the said watchmen to do such further offices as the sick house shall need and require; and if the watchman be sent upon any business, to lock up the house and take the key with him; and the watchman by day to attend until ten o'clock at night, and the watchman by night until six in the morning.

Searchers.

That there be a special care to appoint women-

searchers in every parish, such as are of honest reputation, and of the best sort as can be got in this kind; and these to be sworn to make due search and true report to the utmost of their knowledge, whether the persons whose bodies they are appointed to search do die of the infection, or of what other diseases, as near as they can; and that the physicians who shall be appointed for the cure and prevention of the infection, do call before them the said searchers, who are, or shall be appointed for the several parishes under their respective cares, to the end they may consider whether they be fitly qualified for that employment, and charge them from time to time, as they shall see cause, if they appear defective in their duties.

That no searcher during this time of visitation, be permitted to use any public work or employment, or keep a shop or stall, or be employed as a laundress, or in any other common employment whatsoever.

Chirurgeons.

For better assistance of the searchers, forasmuch as there has been heretofore great abuse in misreporting the disease, to the further spreading of the infection, it is therefore ordered that there be chosen and appointed able and discreet chirurgeons besides those that do already belong to the pesthouse; amongst whom the city and liberties to be quartered as they lie most apt and convenient, and every of these to have one quarter for his limit; and the said chirurgeons in every of their limits to join with the searchers for the view of the body, to the end there may be a true report made of the disease.

And further, that the said chirurgeons shall visit and search such like persons as shall either send for

them, or be named and directed unto them by the examiners of every parish, and inform themselves of the disease of the said parties.

And, forasmuch as the said chirurgeons are to be sequestered from all other cures, and kept only to this disease of the infection, it is ordered that every of the said chirurgeons shall have twelvepence a body searched by them, to be paid out of the goods of the party searched, if he be able, or otherwise by the parish.

Nurse-keepers.

If any nurse-keeper shall remove herself out of any infected house before twenty-eight days after the decease of any person dying of the infection, the house to which the said nurse-keeper doth so remove herself, shall be shut up until the said twenty-eight days shall be expired.

Orders concerning Infected Houses, and Persons sick of the Plague.

Notice to be given of the Sickness.

The master of every house as soon as any one in his house complaineth, either of botch, or purple, or swelling in any part of his body, or falleth otherwise dangerously sick without apparent cause of some other disease, shall give notice thereof to the examiner of health, within two hours after the said sign shall appear.

Sequestration of the Sick.

As soon as any man shall be found by this exa-

miner, chirurgeon, or searcher, to be sick of the plague, he shall the same night be sequestered in the same house, and in case he be so sequestered, then, though he die not, the house wherein he sickened, shall be shut up for a month after the use of the due preservatives taken by the rest.

Airing the Stuff.

For sequestration of the goods and stuff of the infection, their bedding, and apparel, and hangings of chambers, must be well aired with fire, and such perfumes as are requisite, within the infected house, before they be taken again to use. This to be done by the appointment of the examiner.

Shutting up of the House.

If any person shall visit any man known to be infected of the plague, or entereth willingly into any known infected house, being not allowed, the house wherein he inhabiteth shall be shut up for certain days by the examiner's direction.

None to be removed out of Infected Houses but, &c.

Item, That none be removed out of the house where he falleth sick of the infection, into any other house in the city, (except it be to the pesthouse or a tent, or unto some such house, which the owner of the said house holdeth in his own hands, and occupieth by his own servants,) and so as security be given to the said parish whither such remove is made, that the attendance and charge about the said visited persons shall be observed and charged in all the particularities before expressed, without any cost of that parish to which any such remove shall happen

to be made, and this remove to be done by night; and it shall be lawful to any person that hath two houses, to remove either his sound or his infected people to his spare house at his choice, so as if he send away first his sound, he do not after send thither the sick; nor again unto the sick, the sound: and that the same which he sendeth be for one week, at the least, shut up, and secluded from company, for the fear of some infection at first not appearing.

Burial of the Dead.

That the burial of the dead by this visitation be at most convenient hours, always before sun-rising, or after sun-setting, with the privity of the churchwardens, or constable, and not otherwise; and that no neighbours nor friends be suffered to accompany the corpse to church, or to enter the house visited, upon pain of having his house shut up, or be imprisoned.

And, that no corpse dying of the infection shall be buried, or remain in any church in time of common-prayer, sermon, or lecture. And, that no children be suffered at time of burial of any corpse, in any church, churchyard, or burying-place, to come near the corpse, coffin, or grave; and, that all graves shall be at least six feet deep.

And further, all public assemblies at other burials are to be forborne during the continuance of this visitation.

No Infected Stuff to be uttered.

That no clothes, stuff, bedding, or garments, be suffered to be carried or conveyed out of any infected houses, and that the criers and carriers

abroad of bedding or old apparel to be sold or pawned, be utterly prohibited and restrained, and no brokers of bedding or old apparel be permitted to make any public show, or hang forth on their stalls, shop-boards, or windows towards any street, lane, common way, or passage, any old bedding or apparel to be sold, upon pain of imprisonment. And if any broker or other person shall buy any bedding, apparel, or other stuff out of any infected house, within two months after the infection hath been there, his house shall be shut up as infected, and so shall continue shut up twenty days at the least.

No Person to be conveyed out of any Infected House.

If any person visited do fortune by negligent looking unto, or by any other means, to come or be conveyed from a place infected to any other place, the parish from whence such party hath come, or been conveyed, upon notice thereof given, shall, at their charge, cause the said party so visited and escaped, to be carried and brought back again by night, and the parties in this case offending, to be punished at the direction of the alderman of the ward, and the house of the receiver of such visited person, to be shut up for twenty days.

Every Visited House to be marked.

That every house visited be marked with a red cross of a foot long, in the middle of the door, evident to be seen, and with these usual printed words, that is to say, "Lord have mercy upon us," to be set close over the same cross, there to continue until lawful opening of the same house.

Every Visited House to be watched.

That the constables see every house shut up, and to be attended with watchmen, which may keep in, and minister necessaries to them at their own charges, if they be able, or at the common charge if they be unable. The shutting up to be for the space of four weeks after all be whole.

That precise order be taken that the searchers, chirurgeons, keepers, and buriers, are not to pass the streets without holding a red rod or wand of three foot in length in their hands, open and evident to be seen, and are not to go into any other house than into their own, or into that whereunto they are directed or sent for, but to forbear and abstain from company, especially when they have been lately used in any such business or attendance.

Inmates.

That where several inmates are in one and the same house, and any person in that house happens to be infected, no other person or family of such house shall be suffered to remove him or themselves without a certificate from the examiners of the health of that parish, or in default thereof, the house whither she or they remove, shall be shut up as is in case of visitation.

Hackney-Coaches.

That care be taken of hackney-coachmen, that they may not, as some of them have been observed to do after carrying of infected persons to the pest-house, and other places, be admitted to common use

till their coaches be well aired, and have stood unemployed by the space of five or six days after such service.

Orders for cleansing and keeping of the Streets swept.

The Streets to be kept clean.

First, it is thought necessary and so ordered, that every householder do cause the street to be daily prepared before his door, and so to keep it clean swept all the week long.

That Rakers take it from out the Houses.

That the sweeping and filth of houses be daily carried away by the rakers, and that the raker shall give notice of his coming by the blowing of a horn, as hitherto hath been done.

Lay-stalls to be made far off from the City.

That the lay-stalls be removed as far as may be out of the city and common passages, and that no nightman or other be suffered to empty a vault into any vault or garden near about the city.

Care to be had of unwholesome Fish or Flesh, and of musty Corn.

That special care be taken that no stinking fish, or unwholesome flesh, or musty corn, or other corrupt fruits, of what sort soever, be suffered to be sold about the city, or any part of the same.

That the brewers and tippling-houses be looked unto for musty and unwholesome casks.

That no hogs, dogs, or cats, or tame pigeons, or conies, be suffered to be kept within any part of the city, or any swine to be or stray in the streets or lanes, but that such swine be impounded by the beadle or any other officer, and the owner punished according to the act of common-council, and that the dogs be killed by the dog-killers appointed for that purpose.

Orders concerning Loose Persons and Idle assemblies.

Beggars.

Forasmuch as nothing is more complained of than the multitude of rogues and wandering beggars that swarm about in every place about the city, being a great cause of the spreading of the infection, and will not be avoided notwithstanding any orders that have been given to the contrary: it is therefore now ordered that such constables and others, whom this matter may any way concern, take special care that no wandering beggars be suffered in the streets of this city, in any fashion or manner whatsoever, upon the penalty provided by law to be duly and severely executed upon them.

Plays.

That all plays, bear-baitings, games, singing of ballads, buckler-play, or such like causes of assemblies of people be utterly prohibited, and the parties offending severely punished by every alderman in his ward.

Feasting prohibited.

That all public feasting, and particularly by the companies of this city, and dinners in taverns, ale-houses, and other places of public entertainment, be forborne till further order and allowance, and that the money thereby spared be preserved, and employed for the benefit and relief of the poor visited with the infection.

Tippling-Houses.

That disorderly tippling in taverns, ale-houses, coffee-houses, and cellars, be severely looked unto as the common sin of the time, and greatest occasion of dispersing the plague. And that no company or person be suffered to remain or come into any tavern, ale-house, or coffee-house, to drink, after nine of the clock in the evening, according to the ancient law and custom of this city, upon the penalties ordained by law.

And for the better execution of these orders, and such other rules and directions as upon further consideration shall be found needful, it is ordered and enjoined that the aldermen, deputies, and common-council-men shall meet together weekly, once, twice, thrice, or oftener, as cause shall require, at some one general place accustomed in their respective wards, being clear from infection of the plague, to consult how the said orders may be put in execution, not intending that any, dwelling in or near places infected, shall come to the said meeting while their coming may be doubtful. And the said aldermen deputies, and common-council-men, in their several wards, may put in execution any other orders, that by them, at their said meet-

ings, shall be conceived and devised for the preservation of his majesty's subjects from the infection.

Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, Lord Mayor.
Sir GEORGE WATERMAN, } Sheriffs.
Sir CHARLES DOE, }

I need not say, that these orders extended only to such places as were within the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction; so it is requisite to observe, that the justices of peace, within those parishes and places as were called the hamlets and out-parts, took the same method: as I remember, the orders for shutting up of houses did not take place so soon on our side, because, as I said before, the plague did not reach to this eastern part of the town at least, nor begin to be violent till the beginning of August.—For example, the whole bill from the 11th to the 18th of July, was 1761, yet there died but seventy-one of the plague in all those parishes we call the Tower-hamlets; and they were as follows:

Aldgate,	14		34		65
Stepney,	33	the next	58	and to the	76
Whitechapel,	21	week was	48	1st of Aug.	79
St Kath. Tower,	2	thus:	4	thus:	4
Trin. Minories,	1		1		4
	71		145		228

It was indeed coming on amain, for the burials that same week were, in the next adjoining parishes, thus:

St. L. Shoreditch	64	the next week	84	to the 1st	110
St. Bot. Bishopsg.	65	prodigiously	105	of Aug.	116
St. Giles's Crippl.	213	increased, as	431	thus:	554
	342		610		780

This shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations; complaints of the severity of it were also daily brought to my lord mayor, of houses causelessly, and some maliciously, shut up; I cannot say, but upon inquiry, many that complained so loudly were found in a condition to be continued; and others again, inspection being made upon the sick person, and the sickness not appearing infectious; or, if uncertain, yet, on his being content to be carried to the pesthouse, was released.

As I went along Houndsditch one morning about eight o'clock, there was a great noise; it is true, indeed, there was not much crowd, because the people were not very free to gather together, or to stay long together when they were there, nor did I stay long there; but the outcry was loud enough to prompt my curiosity, and I called to one, who looked out of a window, and asked what was the matter?

A watchman, it seems, had been employed to keep his post at the door of a house which was infected, or said to be infected, and was shut up; he had been there all night, for two nights together, as he told his story, and the day-watchman had been there one day, and was now come to relieve him; all this while no noise had been heard in the house, no light had been seen, they called for nothing, sent him of no errands, which used to be the chief business of the watchmen, neither had they given him any disturbance, as he said, from Monday afternoon, when he heard a great crying and screaming in the house, which, as he supposed, was occasioned by some of the family dying just at that time. It seems the night before, the dead-cart, as it was called, had been stopt there, and a servant-

maid had been brought down to the door dead, and the buriers or bearers, as they were called, put her into the cart, wrapped only in a green rug, and carried her away.

The watchman had knocked at the door, it seems, when he heard that noise and crying, as above, and nobody answered a great while, but at last one looked out, and said, with an angry quick tone, and yet a kind of crying voice, or a voice of one that was crying, What d'ye want, that you make such a knocking? He answered, I am the watchman, how do you do? What is the matter? The person answered, What is that to you? Stop the dead-cart. This, it seems, was about one o'clock; soon after, as the fellow said, he stopped the dead-cart, and then knocked again, but nobody answered; he continued knocking, and the bellman called out several times, Bring out your dead; but nobody answered, till the man that drove the cart being called to other houses, would stay no longer, and drove away.

The watchman knew not what to make of all this, so he let them alone till the morning-man, or day-watchman, as they called him, came to relieve him. Giving him an account of the particulars, they knocked at the door a great while, but nobody answered, and they observed that the window or casement, at which the person looked out who had answered before, continued open, being up two pair of stairs.

Upon this, the two men, to satisfy their curiosity, got a long ladder, and one of them went up to the window, and looked into the room, where he saw a woman lying dead upon the floor, in a dismal manner, having no clothes on her but her shift; but though he called aloud, and putting in his long staff, knocked hard on the floor, yet nobody stirred

or answered, neither could he hear any noise in the house.

He came down again upon this, and acquainted his fellow, who went up also, and finding it just so, they resolved to acquaint either the lord mayor, or some other magistrate of it, but did not offer to go in at the window. The magistrate, it seems, upon the information of the two men, ordered the house to be broke open, a constable and other persons being appointed to be present, that nothing might be plundered, and accordingly it was so done, when nobody was found in the house but that young woman, who, having been infected, and past recovery, the rest had left her to die by herself, and every one gone, having found some way to delude the watchman, and to get open the door, or get out at some back-door, or over the tops of the houses, so that he knew nothing of it; and, as to those cries and shrieks which he heard, it was supposed they were the passionate cries of the family at this bitter parting, which, to be sure, it was to them all, this being the sister to the mistress of the family. The man of the house, his wife, several children and servants, being all gone and fled, whether sick or sound, that I could never learn, nor, indeed, did I make much inquiry after it.

At another house, as I was informed, in the street next within Aldgate, a whole family was shut up and locked in, because the maid-servant was taken sick; the master of the house had complained by his friends to the next alderman, and to the lord mayor, and had consented to have the maid carried to the pesthouse, but was refused; so the door was marked with a red cross, a padlock on the outside, as above, and a watchman set to keep the door, according to public order.

After the master of the house found there was

no remedy, but that he, his wife and his children were locked up with this poor distempered servant, he called to the watchman, and told him he must go then and fetch a nurse for them to attend this poor girl, for that it would be certain death to them all to oblige them to nurse her, and told him plainly that, if he would not do this, the maid would perish either of the distemper, or be starved for want of food, for he was resolved none of his family should go near her, and she lay in the garret, four story high, where she could not cry out, or call to anybody for help.

The watchman consented to that, and went and fetched a nurse, as he was appointed, and brought her to them the same evening; during this interval, the master of the house took his opportunity to break a large hole through his shop into a bulk or stall, where formerly a cobbler had sat before or under his shop window; but the tenant, as may be supposed, at such a dismal time as that, was dead or removed, and so he had the key in his own keeping; having made his way into this stall, which he could not have done if the man had been at the door, the noise he was obliged to make being such as would have alarmed the watchman; I say, having made his way into this stall, he sat still till the watchman returned with the nurse, and all the next day also; but the night following, having contrived to send the watchman of another trifling errand, which, as I take it, was to an apothecary's for a plaster for the maid, which he was to stay for the making up, or some other such errand, that might secure his staying some time; in that time he conveyed himself and all his family out of the house, and left the nurse and the watchman to bury the poor wench, that is, throw her into the cart, and take care of the house.

Not far from the same place they blowed up a watchman with gunpowder, and burnt the poor fellow dreadfully; and, while he made hideous cries, and nobody would venture to come near to help him, the whole family that were able to stir got out at the windows, one story high, two that were left sick, calling out for help. Care was taken to give them nurses to look after them, but the persons fled were never found, till after the plague was abated they returned; but, as nothing could be proved, so nothing could be done to them.

In other cases, some had gardens and walls, or pales between them and their neighbours; or yards and back-houses; and these, by friendship and entreaties, would get leave to get over those walls or pales, and so go out at their neighbours' doors; or, by giving money to their servants, get them to let them through in the night; so that, in short, the shutting up of houses was in nowise to be depended upon; neither did it answer the end at all; serving more to make the people desperate, and drive them to such extremities, as that they would break out at all adventures.

And that which was still worse, those that did thus break out, spread the infection further by their wandering about with the distemper upon them, in their desperate circumstances, than they would otherwise have done: for, whoever considers all the particulars in such cases, must acknowledge, and cannot doubt but the severity of those confinements made many people desperate, and made them run out of their houses at all hazards, and with the plague visibly upon them, not knowing either whither to go, or what to do, or, indeed, what they did; and many that did so were driven to dreadful exigencies and extremities, and perished in the streets or fields for mere want, or dropped down,

by the raging violence of the fever upon them. Others wandered into the country, and went forward any way, as their desperation guided them, not knowing whither they went or would go, till, faint and tired, and not getting any relief, the houses and villages on the road refusing to admit them to lodge, whether infected or no, they have perished by the road side, or gotten into barns, and died there, none daring to come to them, or relieve them, though perhaps not infected, for nobody would believe them.

On the other hand, when the plague at first seized a family, that is to say, when any one body of the family had gone out, and unwarily or otherwise catched the distemper and brought it home, it was certainly known by the family before it was known to the officers, who, as you will see by the order, were appointed to examine into the circumstances of all sick persons, when they heard of their being sick.

In this interval, between their being taken sick, and the examiners coming, the master of the house had leisure and liberty to remove himself, or all his family, if he knew whither to go, and many did so. But the great disaster was, that many did thus after they were really infected themselves, and so carried the disease into the houses of those who were so hospitable as to receive them, which, it must be confessed, was very cruel and ungrateful.

I am speaking now of people made desperate by the apprehensions of their being shut up, and their breaking out by stratagem or force, either before or after they were shut up, whose misery was not lessened when they were out, but sadly increased. On the other hand, many who thus got away had retreats to go to, and other houses, where they locked themselves up, and kept hid till the plague

was over; and many families, foreseeing the approach of the distemper, laid up stores of provisions, sufficient for their whole families, and shut themselves up, and that so entirely, that they were neither seen or heard of, till the infection was quite ceased, and then came abroad sound and well. I might recollect several such as these, and give you the particulars of their management; for, doubtless, it was the most effectual secure step that could be taken for such, whose circumstances would not admit them to remove, or who had not retreats abroad proper for the case; for, in being thus shut up, they were as if they had been a hundred miles off. Nor do I remember, that any one of those families miscarried. Among these, several Dutch merchants were particularly remarkable, who kept their houses like little garrisons besieged, suffering none to go in or out, or come near them; particularly one in a court in Throckmorton-street, whose house looked into Drapers' garden.

But I come back to the case of families infected, and shut up by the magistrates. The misery of those families is not to be expressed; and it was generally in such houses that we heard the most dismal shrieks and outcries of the poor people, terrified, and even frightened to death, by the sight of the condition of their dearest relations, and by the terror of being imprisoned as they were.

I remember, and, while I am writing this story, I think I hear the very sound of it: a certain lady had an only daughter, a young maiden about nineteen years old, and who was possessed of a very considerable fortune; they were only lodgers in the house where they were. The young woman, her mother, and the maid, had been abroad on some occasion, I do not remember what, for the house was not shut up; but, about two hours after they

came home, the young lady complained she was not well, in a quarter of an hour more she vomited, and had a violent pain in her head. Pray God, says her mother, in a terrible fright, my child has not the distemper! The pain in her head increasing, her mother ordered the bed to be warmed, and resolved to put her to bed; and prepared to give her things to sweat, which was the ordinary remedy to be taken, when the first apprehensions of the distemper began.

While the bed was airing, the mother undressed the young woman, and just as she was laid down in the bed, she, looking upon her body with a candle, immediately discovered the fatal tokens on the inside of her thighs. Her mother, not being able to contain herself, threw down her candle, and screeched out in such a frightful manner, that it was enough to place horror upon the stoutest heart in the world; nor was it one scream, or one cry, but the fright having seized her spirits, she fainted first, then recovered, then ran all over the house, up the stairs and down the stairs, like one distracted, and indeed really was distracted, and continued screeching and crying out for several hours, void of all sense, or, at least, government of her senses, and, as I was told, never came thoroughly to herself again. As to the young maiden, she was a dead corpse from that moment; for the gangrene, which occasions the spots, had spread over her whole body, and she died in less than two hours. But still the mother continued crying out, not knowing any thing more of her child, several hours after she was dead. It is so long ago, that I am not certain, but I think the mother never recovered, but died in two or three weeks after.

I have by me a story of two brothers and their

kinsman, who, being single men, but that had stayed in the city too long to get away, and, indeed, not knowing where to go to have any retreat, nor having wherewith to travel far, took a course for their own preservation, which, though in itself at first desperate, yet was so natural, that it may be wondered that no more did so at that time. They were but of mean condition, and yet not so very poor, as that they could not furnish themselves with some little conveniences, such as might serve to keep life and soul together; and, finding the distemper increasing in a terrible manner, they resolved to shift as well as they could, and to be gone.

One of them had been a soldier in the late wars, and before that in the Low Countries; and, having been bred to no particular employment but his arms, and, besides, being wounded, and not able to work very hard, had for some time been employed at a baker's of sea-biscuit in Wapping.

The brother of this man was a seaman too, but, somehow or other, had been hurt of one leg, that he could not go to sea, but had worked for his living at a sailmaker's in Wapping, or thereabouts; and being a good husband, had laid up some money, and was the richest of the three.

The third man was a joiner or carpenter by trade, a handy fellow; and he had no wealth, but his box, or basket of tools, with the help of which he could at any time get his living, such a time as this excepted, wherever he went, and he lived near Shadwell.

They all lived in Stepney parish, which, as I have said, being the last that was infected, or at least violently, they stayed there till they evidently saw the plague was abating at the west part of the

town, and coming towards the east, where they lived.

The story of those three men, if the reader will be content to have me give it in their own persons, without taking upon me to either vouch the particulars, or answer for any mistakes, I shall give as distinctly as I can; believing the history will be a very good pattern for any poor man to follow, in case the like public desolation should happen here; and if there may be no such occasion, which God of his infinite mercy grant us, still the story may have its uses so many ways, as that it will, I hope, never be said that the relating has been unprofitable.

I say all this previous to the history, having yet, for the present, much more to say before I quit my own part.

I went all the first part of the time freely about the streets, though not so freely as to run myself into apparent danger, except when they dug the great pit in the churchyard of our parish of Aldgate. A terrible pit it was, and I could not resist my curiosity to go and see it; as near as I may judge, it was about forty feet in length, and about fifteen or sixteen feet broad; and, at the time I first looked at it, about nine feet deep; but it was said, they dug it near twenty feet deep afterwards, in one part of it, till they could go no deeper for the water; for they had, it seems, dug several large pits before this; for, though the plague was long a coming to our parish, yet, when it did come, there was no parish in or about London where it raged with such violence as in the two parishes of Aldgate and Whitechapel.

I say they had dug several pits in another ground, when the distemper began to spread in our parish, and especially when the dead-carts began to go about, which was not in our parish, till the begin-

ning of August. Into these pits they had put perhaps fifty or sixty bodies each, then they made larger holes, wherein they buried all that the cart brought in a week, which, by the middle to the end of August, came to from two hundred to four hundred a week; and they could not well dig them larger, because of the order of the magistrates, confining them to leave no bodies within six feet of the surface; and the water coming on at about seventeen or eighteen feet, they could not well, I say, put more in one pit; but now, at the beginning of September, the plague raging in a dreadful manner, and the number of burials in our parish increasing to more than was ever buried in any parish about London, of no larger extent, they ordered this dreadful gulf to be dug, for such it was rather than a pit.

They had supposed this pit would have supplied them for a month or more, when they dug it, and some blamed the churchwardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them they were making preparations to bury the whole parish, and the like; but time made it appear the churchwardens knew the condition of the parish better than they did; for the pit being finished the 4th of September, I think they began to bury in it the 6th, and, by the 20th, which was just two weeks, they had thrown into it 1114 bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come to lie within six feet of the surface. I doubt not but there may be some ancient persons alive in the parish, who can justify the fact of this, and are able to show even in what place of the churchyard the pit lay better than I can; the mark of it also was many years to be seen in the churchyard on the surface, lying in length, parallel with the passage which goes by the west wall of the churchyard, out of Houndsditch, and

turns east again into Whitechapel, coming out near the Three-Nuns inn.

It was about the 10th of September, that my curiosity led, or rather drove me to go and see this pit again, when there had been near four hundred people buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the day-time, as I had done before, for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth; for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth, by those they called the buriers, which at other times were called bearers; but I resolved to go in the night, and see some of them thrown in.

There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those pits, and that was only to prevent infection; but, after some time, that order was more necessary, for people that were infected, and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those pits wrapt in blankets, or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they said, bury themselves. I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard, that in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Cripplegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then walled about, many came and threw themselves in, and expired there, before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, though not cold.

This may serve a little to describe the dreadful condition of that day, though it is impossible to say anything that is able to give a true idea of it to those who did not see it, other than this; that it was indeed, very, very, very dreadful, and such as no tongue can express.

I got admittance into the churchyard by being acquainted with the sexton who attended, who,

though he did not refuse me at all, yet earnestly persuaded me not to go: telling me very seriously, for he was a good religious and sensible man, that it was, indeed, their business and duty to venture, and to run all hazards, and that in it they might hope to be preserved; but that I had no apparent call to it but my own curiosity, which, he said, he believed I would not pretend, was sufficient to justify my running that hazard. I told him I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that, perhaps, it might be an instructing sight, that might not be without its uses. Nay, says the good man, if you will venture upon that score, 'Name of God, go in; for, depend upon it, it will be a sermon to you, it may be, the best that ever you heard in your life. It is a speaking sight, says he, and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us all to repentance; and with that he opened the door, and said, Go, if you will.

His discourse had shocked my resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while, but, just at that interval, I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead cart, as they called it, coming over the streets; so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. There was nobody as I could perceive at first, in the churchyard, or going into it, but the buriers, and the fellow that drove the cart, or rather led the horse and cart, but when they came up to the pit, they saw a man go to and again, muffled up in a brown cloak, and making motions with his hands, under his cloak, as if he was in great agony; and the buriers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor delirious, or desperate creatures, that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves; he said

nothing as he walked about, but two or three times groaned very deeply, and loud, and sighed as he would break his heart.

When the buriers came up to him, they soon found he was neither a person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, or a person distempered in mind, but one oppressed with a dreadful weight of grief indeed, having his wife and several of his children, all in the cart, that was just come in with him, and he followed in an agony and excess of sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of masculine grief, that could not give itself vent by tears; and, calmly desiring the buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the bodies thrown in, and go away, so they left importuning him; but no sooner was the cart turned round, and the bodies shot into the pit promiscuously, which was a surprise to him, for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, though, indeed, he was afterwards convinced that was impracticable; I say, no sooner did he see the sight, but he cried out aloud, unable to contain himself. I could not hear what he said, but he went backward two or three steps, and fell down in a swoon; the buriers ran to him and took him up, and in a little while he came to himself, and they led him away to the Pye-tavern, over-against the end of Houndsditch, where, it seems, the man was known, and where they took care of him. He looked into the pit again, as he went away, but the buriers had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in earth, that, though there was light enough, for there were lantherns and candles in them, placed all night round the sides of the pit, upon the heaps of earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

This was a mournful scene indeed, and affected

me almost as much as the rest; but the other was awful, and full of terror; the cart had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies, some were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose, that what covering they had fell from them, in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest; but the matter was not much to them, or the indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it, for here was no difference made, but poor and rich went together; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this.

It was reported, by way of scandal upon the buriers, that if any corpse was delivered to them, decently wound up, as we called it then, in a winding sheet tied over the head and feet, which some did, and which was generally of good linen; I say, it was reported, that the buriers were so wicked as to strip them in the cart, and carry them quite naked to the ground; but, as I cannot credit anything so vile among Christians, and at a time so filled with terrors as that was, I can only relate it, and leave it undetermined.

Innumerable stories also went about of the cruel behaviour and practices of nurses, who attended the sick, and of their hastening on the fate of those they attended in their sickness. But I shall say more of this in its place.

I was indeed shocked with this sight, it almost overwhelmed me; and I went away with my heart most afflicted, and full of afflicting thoughts, such as I cannot describe; just at my going out of the church, and turning up the street towards my own

house, I saw another cart with links, and a bellman going before, coming out of Harrow-alley, in the Butcher-row, on the other side of the way, and being, as I perceived, very full of dead bodies, it went directly over the street also toward the church. I stood awhile, but I had no stomach to go back again to see the same dismal scene over again; so I went directly home, where I could not but consider with thankfulness, the risk I had run, believing I had gotten no injury; as indeed I had not.

Here the poor unhappy gentleman's grief came into my head again, and, indeed, I could not but shed tears in the reflection upon it, perhaps more than he did himself; but his case lay so heavy upon my mind, that I could not prevail with myself but that I must go out again into the street, and go to the Pye-tavern, resolving to inquire what became of him.

It was by this time one o'clock in the morning, and yet the poor gentleman was there; the truth was, the people of the house knowing him, had entertained him, and kept him there all the night, notwithstanding the danger of being infected by him, though it appeared the man was perfectly sound himself.

It is with regret that I take notice of this tavern. The people were civil, mannerly, and an obliging sort of folks enough, and had till this time kept their house open, and their trade going on, though not so very publicly as formerly; but there was a dreadful set of fellows that used their house, and who, in the middle of all this horror, met there every night, behaving with all the revelling and roaring extravagances as is usual for such people to do at other times, and indeed to such an offensive degree, that the very master and mistress of the house grew first ashamed, and then terrified, at them.

They sat generally in a room next the street; and, as they always kept late hours, so when the dead-cart came across the street end to go into Hounds-ditch, which was in view of the tavern windows, they would frequently open the windows, as soon as they heard the bell, and look out at them; and, as they might often hear sad lamentations of people in the streets, or at their windows, as the carts went along, they would make their impudent mocks and jeers at them, especially if they heard the poor people call upon God to have mercy upon them, as many would do at those times, in their ordinary passing along the streets.

These gentlemen being something disturbed with the clutter of bringing the poor gentleman into the house, as above, were first angry and very high with the master of the house, for suffering such a fellow, as they called him, to be brought out of the grave into their house; but, being answered, that the man was a neighbour, and that he was sound, but overwhelmed with the calamity of his family, and the like, they turned their anger into ridiculing the man, and his sorrow for his wife and children; taunting him with want of courage to leap into the great pit, and go to heaven, as they jeeringly expressed it, along with them; adding some very profane, and even blasphemous expressions.

They were at this vile work when I came back to the house, and, as far as I could see, though the man sat still, mute, and disconsolate, and their affronts could not divert his sorrow, yet he was both grieved and offended at their discourse. Upon this, I gently reproved them, being well enough acquainted with their characters, and not unknown in person to two of them.

They immediately fell upon me with ill language and oaths; asked me what I did out of my grave,

at such a time, when so many honester men were carried into the churchyard; and why I was not at home saying my prayers, against the dead-cart came for me; and the like.

I was indeed astonished at the impudence of the men, though not at all discomposed at their treatment of me; however, I kept my temper. I told them, that though I defied them, or any man in the world, to tax me with any dishonesty, yet I acknowledged, that, in this terrible judgment of God, many better than I were swept away, and carried to their grave; but, to answer their question directly, the case was, that I was mercifully preserved by that great God, whose name they had blasphemed and taken in vain, by cursing and swearing in a dreadful manner; and that I believed I was preserved in particular, among other ends of his goodness, that I might reprove them for their audacious boldness, in behaving in such a manner, and in such an awful time as this was, especially for their jeering and mocking at an honest gentleman, and a neighbour, for some of them knew him, who they saw was overwhelmed with sorrow, for the breaches which it had pleased God to make upon his family.

I cannot call exactly to mind the hellish abominable raillery, which was the return they made to that talk of mine, being provoked, it seems, that I was not at all afraid to be free with them; nor, if I could remember, would I fill my account with any of the words, the horrid oaths, curses, and vile expressions, such as, at that time of the day, even the worst and ordinariest people in the street would not use; for, except such hardened creatures as these, the most wicked wretches that could be found, had at that time some terror upon their

mind, of the hand of that Power which could thus, in a moment destroy them.

But that which was the worst in all their devilish language was, that they were not afraid to blaspheme God, and talk atheistically; making a jest at my calling the plague the hand of God, mocking, and even laughing at the word judgment, as if the providence of God had no concern in the inflicting such a desolating stroke; and that the people calling upon God, as they saw the carts carrying away the dead bodies, was all enthusiastic, absurd, and impertinent.

I made them some reply, such as I thought proper, but which I found was so far from putting a check to their horrid way of speaking, that it made them rail the more; so that I confess it filled me with horror, and a kind of rage, and I came away, as I told them, lest the hand of that judgment which had visited the whole city, should glorify his vengeance upon them, and all that were near them.

They received all reproof with the utmost contempt, and made the greatest mockery that was possible for them to do at me, giving me all the opprobrious insolent scoffs that they could think of for preaching to them, as they called it, which indeed grieved me, rather than angered me; and I went away blessing God, however, in my mind, that I had not spared them, though they had insulted me so much.

They continued this wretched course three or four days after this, continually mocking and jeering at all that showed themselves religious, or serious, or that were any way touched with the sense of the terrible judgment of God upon us, and I was informed they flouted in the same manner, at the good people, who, notwithstanding the contagion,

met at the church, fasted and prayed to God to remove his hand from them.

I say, they continued this dreadful course three or four days, I think it was no more, when one of them, particularly he who asked the poor gentleman what he did out of his grave, was struck from heaven with the plague, and died in a most deplorable manner; and, in a word, they were every one of them carried into the great pit, which I have mentioned above, before it was quite filled up, which was not above a fortnight, or thereabout.

These men were guilty of many extravagances, such as one would think human nature should have trembled at the thoughts of, at such a time of general terror as was then upon us; and, particularly, scoffing and mocking at everything which they happened to see that was religious among the people, especially at their thronging zealously to the place of public worship, to implore mercy from heaven in such a time of distress; and this tavern, where they held their club, being within view of the church door, they had the more particular occasion for their atheistical profane mirth.

But this began to abate a little with them before the accident, which I have related, happened; for the infection increased so violently, at this part of the town now, that people began to be afraid to come to the church, at least such numbers did not resort thither as was usual; many of the clergymen likewise were dead, and others gone into the country; for it really required a steady courage, and a strong faith, for a man not only to venture being in town at such a time as this, but likewise to venture to come to church and perform the office of a minister to a congregation, of whom he had reason to believe many of them were actually infected with

the plague, and to do this every day, or twice a day, as in some places was done.

It seems they had been checked for their open insulting religion in this manner, by several good people of every persuasion, and that and the violent raging of the infection, I suppose, was the occasion that they had abated much of their rudeness for some time before, and were only roused by the spirit of ribaldry and atheism at the clamour which was made, when the gentleman was first brought in there, and, perhaps, were agitated by the same devil, when I took upon me to reprove them; though I did it at first with all the calmness, temper, and good manners that I could, which, for awhile, they insulted me the more for, thinking it had been in fear of their resentment, though afterwards they found the contrary.

These things lay upon my mind; and I went home very much grieved and oppressed with the horror of these men's wickedness, and to think that anything could be so vile, so hardened, and so notoriously wicked, as to insult God and his servants, and his worship, in such a manner, and at such a time as this was; when he had, as it were, his sword drawn in his hand, on purpose to take vengeance, not on them only, but on the whole nation.

I had, indeed, been in some passion, at first, with them, though it was really raised, not by any affront, they had offered me personally, but by the horror, their blaspheming tongues filled me with; however, I was doubtful in my thoughts, whether the resentment I retained, was not all upon my own private account, for they had given me a great deal of ill language too, I mean personally; but after some pause, and having a weight of grief upon my mind, I retired myself, as soon as I came home, for I

slept not that night, and giving God most humble thanks for my preservation in the imminent danger I had been in, I set my mind seriously, and with the utmost earnestness, to pray for those desperate wretches, that God would pardon them, open their eyes, and effectually humble them.

By this I not only did my duty, namely, to pray for those who despitefully used me, but I fully tried my own heart, to my full satisfaction, that it was not filled with any spirit of resentment as they had offended me in particular; and I humbly recommend the method to all those that would know, or be certain, how to distinguish between their zeal for the honour of God, and the effects of their private passions and resentment.

I remember a citizen, who, having broken out of his house in Aldersgate-street, or thereabout, went along the road to Islington; he attempted to have gone in at the Angel-Inn, and after that at the White-Horse, two inns, known still by the same signs; but was refused; after which he came to the Pyed-Bull, an inn also still continuing the same sign; he asked them for lodging for one night only, pretending to be going into Lincolnshire, and assuring them of his being very sound, and free from the infection, which also, at that time, had not reached much that way.

They told him, they had no lodging that they could spare, but one bed up in the garret, and that they could spare that bed but for one night, some drovers being expected the next day with cattle; so, if he would accept of that lodging, he might have it, which he did; so a servant was sent up with a candle with him, to show him the room. He was very well dressed, and looked like a person not used to lie in a garret, and when he came to the room he fetched a deep sigh, and said to the ser-

vant, I have seldom lain in such a lodging as this; however the servant assured him again, that they had no better: Well, says he, I must make shift, this is a dreadful time, but it is but for one night; so he sat down upon the bed-side, and bade the maid, I think it was, fetch him a pint of warm ale; accordingly the servant went for the ale, but some hurry in the house, which, perhaps, employed her otherways, put it out of her head; and she went up no more to him.

The next morning, seeing no appearance of the gentleman, somebody in the house asked the servant that had showed him up stairs, what was become of him? she started; Alas, says she, I never thought more of him: he bade me carry him some warm ale, but I forgot: upon which, not the maid, but some other person, was sent up to see after him, who coming into the room, found him stark dead, and almost cold, stretched out across the bed; his clothes were pulled off, his jaw fallen, his eyes open in a most frightful posture, the rug of the bed being grasped hard in one of his hands, so that it was plain he died soon after the maid left him, and it is probable, had she gone up with the ale, she had found him dead in a few minutes after he had sat down upon the bed. The alarm was great in the house, as any one may suppose, they having been free from the distemper, till that disaster, which bringing the infection to the house, spread it immediately to other houses round about it. I do not remember how many died in the house itself, but I think the maid-servant, who went up first with him, fell presently ill by the fright, and several others; for, whereas there died but two in Islington of the plague, the week before, there died nineteen the week after, whereof fourteen were of the

plague, this was in the week from the 11th of July to the 18th.

There was one shift, that some families had, and that not a few, when their houses happened to be infected, and that was this; the families, who, in the first breaking out of the distemper, fled away into the country, and had retreats among their friends, generally found some or other, of their neighbours or relations, to commit the charge of those houses to, for the safety of the goods, and the like. Some houses were indeed entirely locked up, the doors padlocked, the windows and doors having deal boards nailed over them, and only the inspection of them committed to the ordinary watchmen and parish officers, but these were but few.

It was thought, that there were not less than a thousand houses forsaken of the inhabitants, in the city and suburbs, including what was in the out-parishes, and in Surry, or the side of the water they called Southwark. This was besides the numbers of lodgers, and of particular persons, who were fled out of other families, so that in all it was computed, that about two hundred thousand people were fled and gone in all. But of this I shall speak again: but I mention it here on this account, namely, that it was a rule with those, who had thus two houses in their keeping or care, that if anybody was taken sick in a family, before the master of the family let the examiners, or any other officer know of it, he immediately would send all the rest of his family, whether children or servants, as it fell out to be, to such other house which he had not in charge, and then giving notice of the sick person to the examiner, have a nurse, or nurses, appointed, and having another person to be shut up in the house with them, (which many for money would do,) so to

take charge of the house, in case the person should die.

This was, in many cases, the saving a whole family, who, if they had been shut up with the sick person, would inevitably have perished; but on the other hand, this was another of the inconveniences of shutting up houses; for the apprehensions and terror of being shut up, made many run away with the rest of the family, who, though it was not publicly known, and they were not quite sick, had yet the distemper upon them; and who, by having an uninterrupted liberty to go about, but being obliged still to conceal their circumstances, or, perhaps, not knowing it themselves, gave the distemper to others, and spread the infection in a dreadful manner, as I shall explain further hereafter.

I had in my family, only an ancient woman, that managed the house, a maid-servant, two apprentices, and myself, and the plague beginning to increase about us, I had many sad thoughts about what course I should take, and how I should act; the many dismal objects, which happened everywhere, as I went about the streets, had filled my mind with a great deal of horror, for fear of the distemper itself, which was indeed very horrible in itself, and in some more than others; the swellings, which were generally in the neck or groin, when they grew hard, and would not break, grew so painful, that it was equal to the most exquisite torture; and some not able to bear the torment, threw themselves out at windows, or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away, and I saw several dismal objects of that kind: others, unable to contain themselves, vented their pain by incessant roarings, and such loud and lamentable cries were to be heard, as we walked along the streets, that would pierce the very heart to think of,

especially when it was to be considered that the same dreadful scourge might be expected every moment to seize upon ourselves.

I cannot say, but that now I began to faint in my resolutions; my heart failed me very much, and sorely I repented of my rashness, when I had been out, and met with such terrible things as these I have talked of; I say, I repented my rashness in venturing to abide in town, and I wished, often, that I had not taken upon me to stay, but had gone away with my brother and his family.

Terrified by those frightful objects, I would retire home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more, and perhaps I would keep those resolutions for three or four days, which time I spent in the most serious thankfulness for my preservation, and the preservation of my family, and the constant confession of my sins, giving myself up to God every day, and applying to him with fasting and humiliation, and meditation. Such intervals as I had, I employed in reading books, and in writing down my memorandums of what occurred to me every day, and out of which, afterwards, I took most of this work, as it relates to my observations without doors; what I wrote of my private meditations I reserve for private use, and desire it may not be made public on any account whatever.

I also wrote other meditations upon divine subjects, such as occurred to me at that time, and were profitable to myself, but not fit for any other view, and therefore I say no more of that.

I had a very good friend a physician, whose name was Heath, whom I frequently visited during this dismal time, and to whose advice I was very much obliged for many things which he directed me to take, by way of preventing the infection when I went out, as he found I frequently did, and to hold

in my mouth, when I was in the streets; he also came very often to see me, and as he was a good Christian, as well as a good physician, his agreeable conversation was a very great support to me, in the worst of this terrible time.

It was now the beginning of August, and the plague grew very violent and terrible in the place where I lived, and Dr. Heath coming to visit me, and finding that I ventured so often out in the streets, earnestly persuaded me to lock myself up, and my family, and not to suffer any of us to go out of doors; to keep all our windows fast, shutters and curtains close, and never to open them; but first, to make a very strong smoke in the room, where the window or door was to be opened, with rosin and pitch, brimstone and gunpowder, and the like, and we did this for some time, but as I had not laid in a store of provision for such a retreat, it was impossible that we could keep within doors entirely; however, I attempted, though it was so very late, to do something towards it; and first, as I had convenience both for brewing and baking, I went and bought two sacks of meal, and for several weeks, having an oven, we baked all our own bread; also I bought malt, and brewed as much beer, as all the casks I had would hold, and which seemed enough to serve my house for five or six weeks; also, I laid in a quantity of salt-butter and Cheshire cheese; but I had no flesh meat, and the plague raged so violently among the butchers and slaughter-houses, on the other side of our street, where they are known to dwell in great numbers, that it was not advisable so much as to go over the street among them.

And here I must observe again, that this necessity of going out of our houses to buy provisions, was in a great measure the ruin of the whole city, for the people catched the distemper, on these occasions,

one of another, and even the provisions themselves were often tainted, at least I have great reason to believe so; and, therefore, I cannot say with satisfaction, what I know is repeated with great assurance, that the market people, and such as brought provisions to town, were never infected. I am certain, the butchers of Whitechapel, where the greatest part of the flesh meat was killed, were dreadfully visited, and that at last to such a degree, that few of their shops were kept open, and those that remained of them killed their meat at Mile-End and that way, and brought it to market upon horses.

However, the poor people could not lay up provisions, and there was a necessity, that they must go to market to buy, and others to send servants, or their children; and, as this was a necessity which renewed itself daily, it brought abundance of unsound people to the markets, and a great many that went thither sound, brought death home with them.

It is true, people used all possible precaution; when any one bought a joint of meat in the market, they would not take it out of the butcher's hand, but took it off the hooks themselves. On the other hand, the butcher would not touch the money, but have it put into a pot full of vinegar, which he kept for that purpose. The buyer carried always small money to make up any odd sum, that they might take no change. They carried bottles for scents and perfumes in their hands, and all the means that could be used were employed; but then the poor could not do even these things, and they went at all hazards.

Innumerable dismal stories we heard every day on this very account. Sometimes a man or woman dropt down dead in the very markets; for many people that had the plague upon them knew nothing of it till the inward gangrene had affected their

vitals, and they died in a few moments; this caused that many died frequently in that manner in the street suddenly, without any warning; others perhaps, had time to go to the next bulk or stall, or to any door or porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These objects were so frequent in the streets, that, when the plague came to be very raging on one side, there was scarce any passing by the streets, but that several dead bodies would be lying here and there upon the ground; on the other hand, it is observable, that though, at first, the people would stop as they went along, and call to the neighbours to come out on such an occasion, yet, afterward, no notice was taken of them; but that, if at any time we found a corpse lying, go across the way and not come near it; or if in a narrow lane or passage, go back again, and seek some other way to go on the business we were upon; and, in those cases, the corpse was always left, till the officers had notice to come and take them away; or till night, when the bearers attending the dead-cart would take them up, and carry them away. Nor did those undaunted creatures, who performed these offices, fail to search their pockets, and sometimes strip off their clothes if they were well dressed, as sometimes they were, and carry off what they could get.

But, to return to the markets; the butchers took that care, that, if any person died in the market, they had the officers always at hand, to take them up upon hand-barrows, and carry them to the next churchyard; and this was so frequent, that such were not entered in the weekly bill, found dead in the streets or fields, as is the case now, but they went into the general articles of the great distemper.

But now the fury of the distemper increased to

such a degree, that even the markets were but very thinly furnished with provisions, or frequented with buyers, compared to what they were before; and the lord mayor caused the country people who brought provisions, to be stopped in the streets leading into the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away; and this encouraged the country people greatly to do so, for they sold their provisions at the very entrances into the town, and even in the fields; as, particularly, in the fields beyond Whitechapel in Spittlefields. Note, those streets, now called Spittlefields, were then indeed open fields; also, in St. George's-fields, in Southwark, in Bunhill-fields, and in a great field, called Wood's Close, near Islington; thither the lord mayor, aldermen, and magistrates, sent their officers and servants to buy for their families, themselves keeping within doors as much as possible, and the like did many other people; and after this method was taken, the country people came with great cheerfulness, and brought provisions of all sorts, and very seldom got any harm; which I suppose added also to that report, of their being miraculously preserved.

As for my little family, having thus, as I have said, laid in a store of bread, butter, cheese, and beer, I took my friend and physician's advice, and locked myself up, and my family, and resolved to suffer the hardship of living a few months without flesh meat, rather than to purchase it at the hazard of our lives.

But, though I confined my family, I could not prevail upon my unsatisfied curiosity to stay within entirely myself; and, though I generally came frighted and terrified home, yet I could not restrain;

only that indeed I did not do it so frequently as at first.

I had some little obligations indeed upon me, to go to my brother's house, which was in Coleman-street parish, and which he had left to my care; and I went at first every day, but afterwards only once or twice a week.

In these walks I had many dismal scenes before my eyes; as, particularly, of persons falling dead in the streets, terrible shrieks and screechings of women, who, in their agonies, would throw open their chamber windows, and cry out in a dismal surprising manner. It is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves.

Passing through Token-House-yard in Lothbury, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried, Oh! death, death, death! in a most inimitable tone, and which struck me with horror, and a chilness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any other window open, for people had no curiosity now in any case, nor could anybody help one another; so I went on to pass into Bell-alley.

Just in Bell-alley, on the right hand of the passage, there was a more terrible cry than that, though it was not so directed out at the window, but the whole family was in a terrible fright, and I could hear women and children run screaming about the rooms like distracted, when a garret window opened, and somebody from a window on the other side the alley called and asked, What is the matter! Upon which, from the first window it was answered, O Lord, my old master has hanged himself! The other asked again, Is he quite dead? and the first answered, Ay, ay, quite dead: quite dead and cold!

This person was a merchant, and a deputy alderman, and very rich. I care not to mention his name, though I knew his name too; but that would be a hardship to the family, which is now flourishing again.

But this is but one. It is scarce credible what dreadful cases happened in particular families every day; people, in the rage of the distemper, or in the torment of their swellings, which was indeed intolerable, running out of their own government, raving and distracted, and oftentimes laying violent hands upon themselves, throwing themselves out at their windows, shooting themselves, &c. Mothers murdering their own children, in their lunacy; some dying of mere grief, as a passion; some of mere fright and surprise, without any infection at all; others frighted into idiotism and foolish distractions; some into despair and lunacy; others into melancholy madness.

The pain of the swelling was in particular very violent, and to some intolerable; the physicians and surgeons may be said to have tortured many poor creatures even to death. The swellings in some grew hard, and they applied violent drawing plasters or poultices to break them; and, if these did not do, they cut and scarified them in a terrible manner. In some, those swellings were made hard, partly by the force of the distemper, and partly by their being too violently drawn, and were so hard, that no instrument could cut them, and then they burnt them with caustics, so that many died raving mad with the torment, and some in the very operation. In these distresses, some, for want of help to hold them down in their beds, or to look to them, laid hands upon themselves, as above; some broke out into the streets, perhaps naked, and would run directly down to the river, if they were not stopped by the watch-

men, or other officers, and plunge themselves into the water, wherever they found it.

It often pierced my very soul to hear the groans and cries of those who were thus tormented: but of the two this was counted the most promising particular in the whole infection; for, if these swellings could be brought to a head, and to break and run, or, as the surgeons call it, to digest, the patient generally recovered; whereas those who, like the gentlewoman's daughter, were struck with death at the beginning, and had the tokens come out upon them, often went about indifferently easy, till a little before they died, and some till the moment they dropt down, as, in apoplexies and epilepsies, is often the case. Such would be taken suddenly very sick, and would run to a bench or bulk, or any convenient place that offered itself, or to their own houses, if possible, as I mentioned before, and there sit down, grow faint, and die. This kind of dying was much the same as it was with those who die of common mortifications, who die swooning, and, as it were, go away in a dream; such as died thus had very little notice of their being infected at all, till the gangrene was spread through their whole body; nor could physicians themselves know certainly how it was with them, till they opened their breasts, or other parts of their body, and saw the tokens.

We had at this time a great many frightful stories told us of nurses and watchmen, who looked after the dying people, that is to say, hired nurses, who attended infected people, using them barbarously, starving them, smothering them, or, by other wicked means, hastening their end; that is to say, murdering of them. And watchmen being set to guard houses that were shut up, when there has been but one person left, and perhaps that one lying sick, that they have broke in and murdered that body,

and immediately thrown them out into the dead cart; and so they have gone scarce cold to the grave.

I cannot say but that some such murders were committed, and I think two were sent to prison for it, but died before they could be tried; and I have heard that three others, at several times, were executed for murders of that kind. But, I must say, I believe nothing of its being so common a crime as some have since been pleased to say; nor did it seem to be so rational, where the people were brought so low as not to be able to help themselves, for such seldom recovered, and there was no temptation to commit a murder; at least, none equal to the fact, where they were sure persons would die in so short a time, and could not live.

That there were a great many robberies and wicked practices committed even in this dreadful time, I do not deny; the power of avarice was so strong in some, that they would run any hazard to steal and to plunder; and, particularly, in houses where all the families or inhabitants have been dead and carried out, they would break in at all hazards, and, without regard to the danger of infection, take even the clothes off the dead bodies, and the bed-clothes from others, where they lay dead.

This, I suppose, must be the case of a family in Houndsditch, where a man and his daughter, the rest of the family being, as I suppose, carried away before by the dead cart, were found stark naked, one in one chamber, and one in another, lying dead on the floor, and the clothes of the beds, from whence, it is supposed, they were rolled off by thieves, stolen, and carried quite away.

It is, indeed, to be observed, that the women were, in all this calamity, the most rash, fearless, and desperate creatures; and, as there were vast

numbers that went about as nurses, to tend those that were sick, they committed a great many petty thieveries in the houses where they were employed; and some of them were publicly whipt for it, when, perhaps, they ought rather to have been hanged for examples, for numbers of houses were robbed on these occasions; till, at length, the parish officers were sent to recommend nurses to the sick, and always took an account who it was they sent, so as that they might call them to account, if the house had been abused where they were placed.

But these robberies extended chiefly to wearing clothes, linen, and what rings or money they could come at, when the person died who was under their care, but not to a general plunder of the houses; and I could give you an account of one of these nurses, who, several years after, being on her death-bed, confessed, with the utmost horror, the robberies she had committed at the time of her being a nurse, and by which she had enriched herself to a great degree; but as for murders, I do not find that there was ever any proof of the facts, in the manner as it has been reported, except as above.

They did tell me, indeed, of a nurse in one place, that laid a wet cloth upon the face of a dying patient whom she tended, and so put an end to his life, who was just expiring before; and another that smothered a young woman she was looking to, when she was in a fainting fit, and would have come to herself; some that killed them by giving them one thing, some another, and some starved them by giving them nothing at all. But these stories had two marks of suspicion that always attended them, which caused me always to slight them, and to look on them as mere stories, that people continually frighted one another with. (1.) That, wherever it was that we

heard it, they always placed the scene at the further end of the town, opposite, or most remote from where you were to hear it. If you heard it in Whitechapel, it had happened at St. Giles's, or at Westminster, or Holborn, or that end of the town; if you heard it at that end of the town, then it was done in Whitechapel, or the Minories, or about Cripplegate parish; if you heard of it in the city, why then, it happened in Southwark; and if you heard of it in Southwark, then it was done in the city, and the like.

In the next place, of whatsoever part you heard the story, the particulars were always the same, especially that of laying a wet double clout on a dying man's face, and that of smothering a young gentlewoman; so that it was apparent, at least to my judgment, that there was more of tale than of truth in those things.

A neighbour and acquaintance of mine, having some money owing to him from a shopkeeper in Whitecross-street, or thereabouts, sent his apprentice, a youth about eighteen years of age, to endeavour to get the money. He came to the door, and finding it shut, knocked pretty hard, and, as he thought, heard somebody answer within, but was not sure, so he waited, and, after some stay, knocked again, and then a third time, when he heard somebody coming down stairs.

At length the man of the house came to the door; he had on his breeches or drawers, and a yellow flannel waistcoat, no stockings, a pair of slipt shoes, a white cap on his head, and, as the young man said, death in his face.

When he opened the door, says he, What do you disturb me thus for? The boy, though a little surprised, replied, I come from such-a-one, and my master sent me for the money which he says you

know of. Very well, child, returns the living ghost, call, as you go by, at Cripplegate church, and bid them ring the bell; and, with these words, shut the door again, and went up again and died the same day, nay, perhaps the same hour. This the young man told me himself, and I have reason to believe it. This was while the plague was not come to a height; I think it was in June, towards the latter end of the month; it must have been before the dead carts came about, and while they used the ceremony of ringing the bell for the dead, which was over for certain in that parish, at least, before the month of July; for, by the 25th of July, there died five hundred and fifty and upwards in a week, and then they could no more bury, in form, rich or poor.

I have mentioned above, that notwithstanding this dreadful calamity, yet that numbers of thieves were abroad upon all occasions, where they had found any prey; and that these were generally women. It was one morning about eleven o'clock, I had walked out to my brother's house in Coleman-street parish, as I often did, to see that all was safe.

My brother's house had a little court before it, and a brick wall and a gate in it; and within that, several warehouses, where his goods of several sorts lay. It happened, that in one of these warehouses were several packs of women's high-crowned hats, which came out of the country, and were, as I suppose, for exportation; whither I know not.

I was surprised, that when I came near my brother's door, which was in a place they called Swan-alley, I met three or four women with high-crowned hats on their heads, and, as I remembered afterwards, one, if not more, had some hats likewise

in their hands; but as I did not see them come out at my brother's door, and not knowing that my brother had any such goods in his warehouse, I did not offer to say anything to them, but went across the way to shun meeting them, as was usual to do at that time, for fear of the plague; but, when I came nearer to the gate, I met another woman with more hats come out of the gate. What business, mistress, said I, have you had there? There are more people there, said she; I have had no more business there than they. I was hasty to get to the gate then, and said no more to her; by which means she got away. But, just as I came to the gate, I saw two more coming across the yard, to come out, with hats also on their heads and under their arms; at which I threw the gate to behind me, which, having a spring-lock, fastened itself; and, turning to the women, Forsooth, said I, what are you doing here? and seized upon the hats, and took them from them. One of them, who, I confess, did not look like a thief, Indeed, says she, we are wrong; but we were told they were goods that had no owner; be pleased to take them again, and look yonder, there are more such customers as we. She cried, and looked pitifully; so I took the hats from her, and opened the gate, and bade them be gone; for I pitied the women indeed: but when I looked towards the warehouse, as she directed, there were six or seven more, all women, fitting themselves with hats, as unconcerned and quiet as if they had been at a hatter's shop, buying for their money.

I was surprised, not at the sight of so many thieves only, but at the circumstances I was in; being now to thrust myself in among so many people, who, for some weeks, I had been so shy of myself, that if I met anybody in the street, I would cross the way from them.

They were equally surprised, though on another account. They all told me they were neighbours, that they had heard any one might take them, that they were nobody's goods, and the like. I talked big to them at first, went back to the gate, and took out the key, so that they were all my prisoners; threatened to lock them all into the warehouse, and go and fetch my lord mayor's officers for them.

They begged heartily, protested they found the gate open, and the warehouse door open, and that it had no doubt been broken open by some who expected to find goods of greater value; which, indeed, was reasonable to believe, because the lock was broke, and a padlock that hung to the door on the outside also loose, and not abundance of the hats carried away.

At length I considered, that this was not a time to be cruel and rigorous; and besides that, it would necessarily oblige me to go much about, to have several people come to me, and I go to several, whose circumstances of health I knew nothing of; and that, even at this time, the plague was so high, as that there died four thousand a week; so that, in showing my resentment, or even in seeking justice for my brother's goods, I might lose my own life; so I contented myself with taking the names and places where some of them lived, who were really inhabitants in the neighbourhood, and threatening, that my brother should call them to an account for it when he returned to his habitation.

Then I talked a little upon another footing with them; and asked them how they could do such things as these, in a time of such general calamity, and, as it were, in the face of God's most dreadful judgments, when the plague was at their very

doors, and, it may be, in their very houses; and they did not know but that the dead cart might stop at their doors in a few hours, to carry them to their graves.

I could not perceive that my discourse made much impression upon them all that while, till it happened that there came two men of the neighbourhood, hearing of the disturbance, and knowing my brother, (for they had been both dependants upon his family,) and they came to my assistance. These being, as I said, neighbours, presently knew three of the women, and told me who they were, and where they lived; and, it seems, they had given me a true account of themselves before.

This brings these two men to a further remembrance. The name of one was John Hayward, who was at that time under-sexton of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman-street; by under-sexton was understood at that time grave-digger and bearer of the dead. This man carried, or assisted to carry, all the dead to their graves, which were buried in that large parish, and who were carried in form; and after that form of burying was stopt, went with the dead cart and the bell, to fetch the dead bodies from the houses where they lay, and fetched many of them out of the chambers and houses; for the parish was, and is, still remarkable, particularly, above all the parishes in London, for a great number of alleys and thoroughfares, very long, into which no carts could come, and where they were obliged to go and fetch the bodies a very long way, which alleys now remain to witness it; such as White's-alley, Cross-Keys-court, Swan-alley, Bell-alley, White-Horse-alley, and many more. Here they went with a kind of handbarrow, and laid the dead bodies on, and carried them out to the carts; which work he performed, and never had the dis-

temper at all, but lived about twenty years after it, and was sexton of the parish to the time of his death. His wife at the same time was a nurse to infected people, and tended many that died in the parish, being for her honesty recommended by the parish officers; yet she never was infected neither.

He never used any preservative against the infection other than holding garlic and rue in his mouth, and smoking tobacco; this I also had from his own mouth; and his wife's remedy was washing her head in vinegar, and sprinkling her head-clothes so with vinegar, as to keep them always moist; and if the smell of any of those she waited on was more than ordinary offensive, she snuffed vinegar up her nose, and sprinkled vinegar upon her head-clothes, and held a handkerchief wetted with vinegar to her mouth.

It must be confessed, that, though the plague was chiefly among the poor, yet were the poor the most venturous and fearless of it, and went about their employment with a sort of brutal courage. I must call it so, for it was founded neither on religion or prudence; scarce did they use any caution, but run into any business which they could get any employment in, though it was the most hazardous; such was that of tending the sick, watching houses shut up, carrying infected persons to the pest-house, and, which was still worse, carrying the dead away to their graves.

It was under this John Hayward's care, and within his bounds, that the story of the piper, with which people have made themselves so merry, happened, and he assured me that it was true. It is said that it was a blind piper; but, as John told me, the fellow was not blind, but an ignorant, weak, poor man, and usually went his rounds about ten o'clock at night, and went piping along from door

to door, and the people usually took him in at public houses where they knew him, and would give him drink and victuals, and sometimes farthings; and he in return would pipe and sing, and talk simply, which diverted the people, and thus he lived. It was but a very bad time for this diversion, while things were as I have told, yet the poor fellow went about as usual, but was almost starved; and when anybody asked how he did, he would answer, the dead cart had not taken him yet, but that they had promised to call for him next week.

It happened one night, that this poor fellow, whether somebody had given him too much drink or no, (John Hayward said he had not drink in his house, but that they had given him a little more victuals than ordinary at a public house in Coleman-street,) and the poor fellow having not usually had a bellyfull, or, perhaps, not a good while, was laid all along upon the top of a bulk or stall, and fast asleep at a door, in the street near London-wall, towards Cripplegate, and that, upon the same bulk or stall, the people of some house, in the alley of which the house was a corner, hearing a bell, which they always rung before the cart came, had laid a body really dead of the plague just by him, thinking too that this poor fellow had been a dead body as the other was, and laid there by some of the neighbours.

Accordingly, when John Hayward with his bell and the cart came along, finding two dead bodies lie upon the stall, they took them up with the instrument they used, and threw them into the cart; and all this while the piper slept soundly.

From hence they passed along, and took in other dead bodies, till, as honest John Hayward told me, they almost buried him alive in the cart, yet all this while he slept soundly; at length the cart came

to the place where the bodies were to be thrown into the ground, which, as I do remember, was at Mountmill; and, as the cart usually stopt some time before they were ready to shoot out the melancholy load they had in it, as soon as the cart stopped, the fellow awaked, and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when, raising himself up in the cart, he called out, Hey, where am I? This frighted the fellow that attended about the work, but, after some pause, John Hayward recovering himself, said, Lord bless us! there's somebody in the cart not quite dead! So another called to him, and said, Who are you? The fellow answered, I am the poor piper: Where am I? Where are you! says Hayward; why, you are in the dead cart, and we are going to bury you. But I an't dead though, am I? says the piper; which made them laugh a little, though, as John said, they were heartily frightened at first; so they helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business.

I know the story goes, he set up his pipes in the cart, and frighted the bearers and others, so that they ran away; but John Hayward did not tell the story so, nor say anything of his piping at all; but that he was a poor piper, and that he was carried away as above, I am fully satisfied of the truth of.

It is to be noted here, that the dead carts in the city were not confined to particular parishes, but one cart went through several parishes, according as the number of dead presented; nor were they tied to carry the dead to their respective parishes, but many of the dead taken up in the city were carried to the burying-ground in the out-parts for want of room.

At the beginning of the plague, when there was now no more hope but that the whole city would

be visited; when, as I have said, all that had friends or estates in the country retired with their families, and when, indeed, one would have thought the very city itself was running out of the gates, and that there would be nobody left behind, you may be sure, from that hour, all trade except such as related to immediate subsistence, was, as it were, at a full stop.

This is so lively a case, and contains in it so much of the real condition of the people, that I think I cannot be too particular in it; and, therefore, I descend to the several arrangements or classes of people who fell into immediate distress upon this occasion. For example,

1. All master workmen in manufactures; especially such as belonged to ornament, and the less necessary parts of the people's dress, clothes, and furniture for houses; such as ribband weavers and other weavers, gold and silver lace makers, and gold and silver wire drawers, sempstresses, milliners, shoemakers, hat-makers, and glove-makers; also upholsterers, joiners, cabinet-makers, looking-glass-makers, and innumerable trades which depend upon such as these. I say the master workmen in such, stopped their work, dismissed their journeymen and workmen, and all their dependents.

2. As merchandizing was at a full stop, (for very few ships ventured to come up the river, and none at all went out,) so all the extraordinary officers of the customs, likewise the watermen, carmen, porters, and all the poor whose labour depended upon the merchants, were at once dismissed, and put out of business.

3. All the tradesmen usually employed in building or repairing of houses were at a full stop, for the people were far from wanting to build houses, when so many thousand houses were at once stript

of their inhabitants; so that this one article turned out all the ordinary workmen of that kind of business, such as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, joiners, plasterers, painters, glaziers, smiths, plumbers, and all the labourers depending on such.

4. As navigation was at a stop, our ships neither coming in or going out as before, so the seamen were all out of employment, and many of them in the last and lowest degree of distress; and with the seamen, were all the several tradesmen and workmen belonging to and depending upon the building and fitting out of ships; such as ship-carpenters, calkers, rope-makers, dry coopers, sail-makers, anchor-smiths, and other smiths; block-makers, carvers, gun-smiths, ship-chandlers, ship-carvers, and the like. The masters of those, perhaps, might live upon their substance, but the traders were universally at a stop, and consequently all their workmen discharged. Add to these, that the river was in a manner without boats, and all or most part of the watermen, lightermen, boat-builders, and lighter-builders, in like manner idle, and laid by.

5. All families retrenched their living as much as possible, as well those that fled as those that stayed; so that an innumerable multitude of footmen, serving men, shopkeepers, journeymen, merchants' book-keepers, and such sort of people, and especially poor maid-servants, were turned off, and left friendless and helpless without employment and without habitation; and this was really a dismal article.

I might be more particular as to this part, but it may suffice to mention in general, all trades being stopt, employment ceased, the labour, and, by that, the bread of the poor, were cut off; and at first, indeed, the cries of the poor were most lamentable

to hear; though, by the distribution of charity, their misery that way was gently abated. Many, indeed, fled into the country; but thousands of them having stayed in London, till nothing but desperation sent them away, death overtook them on the road, and they served for no better than the messengers of death; indeed, others carrying the infection along with them, spread it very unhappily into the remotest parts of the kingdom.

The women and servants that were turned off from their places were employed as nurses to tend the sick in all places; and this took off a very great number of them.

And which, though a melancholy article in itself, yet was a deliverance in its kind, namely, the plague, which raged in a dreadful manner from the middle of August to the middle of October, carried off in that time thirty or forty thousand of these very people, which, had they been left, would certainly have been an insufferable burden, by their poverty; that is to say, the whole city could not have supported the expense of them, or have provided food for them; and they would, in time, have been even driven to the necessity of plundering either the city itself, or the country adjacent, to have subsisted themselves, which would, first or last, have put the whole nation, as well as the city, into the utmost terror and confusion.

It was observable then, that this calamity of the people made them very humble; for now, for about nine weeks together, there died near a thousand a day, one day with another; even by the account of the weekly bills, which yet, I have reason to be assured, never gave a full account by many thousands; the confusion being such, and the carts working in the dark when they carried the dead, that in some places no account at all was

kept, but they worked on; the clerks and sextons not attending for weeks together, and not knowing what number they carried. This account is verified by the following bills of mortality.

		Of all Diseases.	*Of the Plague.*
From	*Aug.* 8 to *Aug.* 15	5319	3880
	——— to 22	5668	4237
	——— to 29	7496	6102
	Aug. 29 to *Sept.* 5	8252	6988
	——— to 12	7690	6544
	——— to 19	8297	7165
	——— to 30	6400	5533
	Sept. 27 to *Oct.* 3	5728	4929
	——— to 10	5068	4227
		59,870	49,705

So that the gross of the people were carried off in these two months; for, as the whole number which was brought in to die of the plague was but 68,590, here is fifty thousand of them, within a trifle, in two months; I say fifty thousand, because, as there wants 295 in the number above, so there wants two days of two months in the account of time.

Now, when I say that the parish officers did not give in a full account, or were not to be depended upon for their account, let any one but consider how men could be exact in such a time of dreadful distress, and when many of them were taken sick themselves, and perhaps died in the very time when their accounts were to be given in; I mean the parish-clerks, besides inferior officers; for though these poor men ventured at all hazards, yet they were far from being exempt from the common calamity; especially if it be true that the

parish of Stepney had, within the year, 116 sextons, grave-diggers, and their assistants; that is to say, bearers, bell-men, and drivers of carts, for carrying off the dead bodies.

Indeed the work was not of such a nature as to allow them leisure to take an exact tale of the dead bodies, which were all huddled together, in the dark, into a pit; which pit, or trench, no man could come nigh but at the utmost peril. I have observed often, that in the parishes of Aldgate, Cripplegate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, there were five, six, seven, and eight hundred in a week in the bills; whereas, if we may believe the opinion of those that lived in the city all the time, as well as I, there died sometimes two thousand a week in those parishes; and I saw it under the hand of one that made as strict an examination as he could, that there really died a hundred thousand people of the plague in it that one year; whereas, in the bills, the article of the plague was but 68,590.

If I may be allowed to give my opinion, by what I saw with my eyes, and heard from other people that were eyewitnesses, I do verily believe the same, viz. that there died, at least, a hundred thousand of the plague only, besides other distempers; and besides those which died in the fields and highways, and secret places, out of the compass of the communication, as it was called, and who were not put down in the bills, though they really belonged to the body of the inhabitants. It was known to us all, that abundance of poor despairing creatures, who had the distemper upon them, and were grown stupid or melancholy by their misery, as many were, wandered away into the fields and woods, and into secret uncouth places, almost anywhere, to creep into a bush or hedge, and die.

The inhabitants of the villages adjacent, would,

in pity, carry them food, and set it at a distance, that they might fetch it if they were able, and sometimes they were not able; and the next time they went, they would find the poor wretches lie dead, and the food untouched. The number of these miserable objects were many; and I know so many that perished thus, and so exactly where, that I believe I could go to the very place and dig their bones up still; for the country people would go and dig a hole at a distance from them, and then, with long poles and hooks at the end of them, drag the bodies into these pits, and then throw the earth in form, as far as they could cast it, to cover them; taking notice how the wind blew, and so come on that side which the seamen call to windward, that the scent of the bodies might blow from them. And thus great numbers went out of the world who were never known, or any account of them taken, as well within the bills of mortality as without.

This, indeed, I had, in the main, only from the relation of others; for I seldom walked into the fields, except towards Bethnal-green and Hackney; or as hereafter. But when I did walk, I always saw a great many poor wanderers at a distance, but I could know little of their cases; for, whether it were in the street or in the fields, if we had seen anybody coming, it was a general method to walk away; yet I believe the account is exactly true.

As this puts me upon mentioning my walking the streets and fields, I cannot omit taking notice what a desolate place the city was at that time. The great street I lived in, which is known to be one of the broadest of all the streets of London, I mean of the suburbs as well as the liberties, all the side where the butchers lived, especially without the bars, was more like a green field than a paved

street, and the people generally went in the middle with the horses and carts. It is true, that the farthest end, towards Whitechapel church, was not all paved, but even the part that was paved was full of grass also; but this need not seem strange, since the great streets within the city, such as Leadenhall-street, Bishopsgate-street, Cornhill, and even the Exchange itself, had grass growing in them in several places; neither cart nor coach was seen in the streets from morning to evening, except some country carts to bring roots and beans, or pease, hay, and straw, to the market, and those but very few compared to what was usual. As for coaches, they were scarce used but to carry sick people to the pesthouse and to other hospitals, and some few to carry physicians to such places as they thought fit to venture to visit; for really coaches were dangerous things, and people did not care to venture into them, because they did not know who might have been carried in them last; and sick infected people were, as I have said, ordinarily carried in them to the pesthouses, and sometimes people expired in them as they went along.

It is true, when the infection came to such a height as I have now mentioned, there were very few physicians who cared to stir abroad to sick houses, and very many of the most eminent of the faculty were dead, as well as the surgeons also; for now it was indeed a dismal time, and, for about a month together, not taking any notice of the bills of mortality, I believe there did not die less than fifteen or seventeen hundred a day, one day with another.

One of the worst days we had in the whole time, as I thought, was in the beginning of September; when, indeed, good people were beginning to think that God was resolved to make a full end of

the people in this miserable city. This was at that time when the plague was fully come into the eastern parishes. The parish of Aldgate, if I may give my opinion, buried above one thousand a week for two weeks, though the bills did not say so many; but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate, that there was not a house in twenty uninfected. In the Minories, in Houndsditch, and in those parts of Aldgate parish about the Butcher-row, and the alleys over-against me, I say, in those places death reigned in every corner. Whitechapel parish was in the same condition, and though much less than the parish I lived in, yet buried near six hundred a week, by the bills, and in my opinion, near twice as many; whole families, and, indeed, whole streets of families, were swept away together; insomuch, that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go to such and such houses and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead.

And indeed, the work of removing the dead bodies by carts was now grown so very odious and dangerous, that it was complained of that the bearers did not take care to clear such houses where all the inhabitants were dead, but that some of the bodies lay unburied, till the neighbouring families were offended by the stench, and consequently, infected. And this neglect of the officers was such, that the churchwardens and constables were summoned to look after it; and even the justices of the hamlets were obliged to venture their lives among them, to quicken and encourage them; for innumerable of the bearers died of the distemper, infected by the bodies they were obliged to come so near; and had it not been that the number of people who wanted employment, and wanted bread, as I have said before, was so great, that ne-

cessity drove them to undertake anything, and venture anything, they would never have found people to be employed; and then the bodies of the dead would have lain above ground and have perished and rotted in a dreadful manner.

But the magistrates cannot be enough commended in this, that they kept such good order for the burying of the dead, that as fast as any of those they employed to carry off and bury the dead, fell sick or died, as was many times the case, they immediately supplied the places with others, which, by reason of the great number of poor that was left out of business, as above, was not hard to do. This occasioned that, notwithstanding the infinite number of people which died, and were sick, almost all together, yet they were always cleared away, and carried off every night; so that it was never to be said of London, that the living were not able to bury the dead.

As the desolation was greater during those terrible times, so the amazement of the people increased; and a thousand unaccountable things they would do in the violence of their fright, as others did the same in the agonies of their distemper; and this part was very affecting. Some went roaring, and crying, and wringing their hands along the street; some would go praying and lifting up their hands to heaven, calling upon God for mercy. I cannot say, indeed, whether this was not in their distraction; but, be it so, it was still an indication of a more serious mind, when they had the use of their senses, and was much better, even as it was, than the frightful yellings and cryings that every day, and especially in the evenings, were heard in some streets. I suppose the world has heard of the famous Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast; he, though not infected at all, but in his head, went about de-

nouncing of judgment upon the city in a frightful manner; sometimes quite naked, and with a pan of burning charcoal on his head. What he said or pretended, indeed, I could not learn.

I will not say whether that clergyman was distracted or not, or whether he did it out of pure zeal for the poor people, who went every evening through the streets of Whitechapel, and, with his hands lifted up, repeated that part of the liturgy of the church, continually, Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood; I say, I cannot speak positively of these things, because these were only the dismal objects which represented themselves to me as I looked through my chamber windows, for I seldom opened the casements, while I confined myself within doors during that most violent raging of the pestilence, when, indeed, many began to think, and even to say, that there would none escape; and indeed, I began to think so too, and, therefore, kept within doors for about a fortnight, and never stirred out. But I could not hold it. Besides, there were some people, who, notwithstanding the danger, did not omit publicly to attend the worship of God, even in the most dangerous times. And though it is true that a great many of the clergy did shut up their churches and fled, as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all did not do so; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation; and this as long as they would hear them. And dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled; nor was there any room for making any difference at such a time as this was.

It pleased God that I was still spared, and very hearty and sound in health, but very impatient of being pent up within doors without air, as I had been for fourteen days or thereabouts; and I could not restrain myself, but I would go and carry a letter for my brother to the post-house; then it was, indeed, that I observed a profound silence in the streets. When I came to the post-house, as I went to put in my letter, I saw a man stand in one corner of the yard, and talking to another at a window, and a third had opened a door belonging to the office. In the middle of the yard lay a small leather purse, with two keys hanging at it, with money in it, but nobody would meddle with it. I asked how long it had lain there; the man at the window said it had lain almost an hour, but they had not meddled with it, because they did not know but the person who dropt it might come back to look for it. I had no such need of money, nor was the sum so big, that I had any inclination to meddle with it, or to get the money at the hazard it might be attended with; so I seemed to go away, when the man who had opened the door said he would take it up; but so, that if the right owner came for it he should be sure to have it. So he went in and fetched a pail of water, and set it down hard by the purse, then went again and fetched some gunpowder, and cast a good deal of powder upon the purse, and then made a train from that which he had thrown loose upon the purse, the train reached about two yards; after this he goes in a third time, and fetches out a pair of tongs red-hot, and which he had prepared, I suppose, on purpose; and first setting fire to the train of powder, that singed the purse, and also smoked the air sufficiently. But he was not content with that, but he then takes up the purse with the tongs, holding it so long till the

tongs burnt through the purse, and then he shook the money out into the pail of water, so he carried it in. The money, as I remember, was about thirteen shillings, and some smooth groats and brass farthings.

Much about the same time, I walked out into the fields towards Bow; for I had a great mind to see how things were managed in the river, and among the ships; and as I had some concern in shipping, I had a notion that it had been one of the best ways of securing one's self from the infection to have retired into a ship; and musing how to satisfy my curiosity in that point, I turned away over the fields, from Bow to Bromley and down to Blackwall, to the stairs that are there for landing or taking water.

Here I saw a poor man walking on the bank or sea-wall, as they call it, by himself. I walked awhile also about, seeing the houses all shut up; at last I fell into some talk, at a distance with this poor man. First I asked him how people did thereabouts? Alas! sir, say he, almost desolate, all dead or sick: here are very few families in this part, or in that village, pointing at Poplar, where half of them are not dead already, and the rest sick. Then he pointing to one house, There they are all dead, said he, and the house stands open, nobody dares go into it. A poor thief, says he, ventured in to steal something, but he paid dear for his theft, for he was carried to the churchyard too, last night. Then he pointed to several other houses. There, says he, they are all dead, the man and his wife and five children. There, says he, they are shut up, you see a watchman at the door; and so of other houses. Why, says I, what do you here all alone? Why, says he, I am a poor desolate man; it hath pleased God I am not yet visited, though my family is, and one of my children dead. How do you mean

then, said I, that you are not visited? Why, says he, that is my house, pointing to a very little low boarded house, and there my poor wife and two children live, said he, if they may be said to live; for my wife and one of the children are visited, but I do not come at them. And with that word I saw the tears run very plentifully down his face; and so they did down mine too, I assure you.

But, said I, why do you not come at them? How can you abandon your own flesh and blood? Oh, sir, says he, the Lord forbid; I do not abandon them, I work for them as much as I am able; and, blessed be the Lord, I keep them from want. And with that I observed he lifted up his eyes to heaven with a countenance that presently told me I had happened on a man that was no hypocrite, but a serious, religious, good man; and his ejaculation was an expression of thankfulness, that, in such a condition as he was in, he should be able to say his family did not want. Well, says I, honest man, that is a great mercy, as things go now with the poor. But how do you live then, and how are you kept from the dreadful calamity that is now upon us all? Why, sir, says he, I am a waterman, and there is my boat, says he, and the boat serves me for a house; I work in it in the day, and I sleep in it in the night, and what I get I lay it down upon that stone, says he, showing me a broad stone on the other side of the street, a good way from his house; and then, says he, I halloo and call to them till I make them hear, and they come and fetch it.

Well, friend, says I, but how can you get money as a waterman? Does anybody go by water these times? Yes, sir, says he, in the way I am employed there does. Do you see there, says he, five ships lie at anchor, pointing down the river a good way below the town; and do you see, says he, eight or

ten ships lie at the chain there, and at anchor yonder, pointing above the town. All those ships have families on board, of their merchants and owners, and such-like, who have locked themselves up, and live on board, close shut in, for fear of the infection; and I tend on them to fetch things for them, carry letters, and do what is absolutely necessary, that they may not be obliged to come on shore; and every night I fasten my boat on board one of the ship's boats, and there I sleep by myself, and, blessed be God, I am preserved hitherto.

Well, said I, friend, but will they let you come on board after you have been on shore here, when this has been such a terrible place, and so infected as it is?

Why, as to that, said he, I very seldom go up the ship side, but deliver what I bring to their boat, or lie by the side and they hoist it on board: if I did, I think they are in no danger from me, for I never go into any house on shore, or touch anybody, no, not of my own family; but I fetch provisions for them.

Nay, says I, but that may be worse, for you must have those provisions of somebody or other; and since all this part of the town is so infected, it is dangerous so much as to speak with anybody; for the village, said I, is as it were the beginning of London, though it be at some distance from it.

That is true, added he, but you do not understand me right. I do not buy provisions for them here, I row up to Greenwich, and buy fresh meat there, and sometimes I row down the river to Woolwich and buy there; then I go to single farm houses on the Kentish side, where I am known, and buy fowls, and eggs, and butter, and bring to the ships, as they direct me, sometimes one sometimes the other. I seldom come on shore here; and I

came only now to call my wife and hear how my little family do, and give them a little money which I received last night.

Poor man! said I; and how much hast thou gotten for them?

I have gotten four shillings, said he, which is a great sum, as things go now with poor men; but they have given me a bag of bread too, and a salt fish, and some flesh; so all helps out.

Well, said I, and have you given it them yet?

No, said he, but I have called, and my wife has answered that she cannot come out yet, but in half an hour she hopes to come, and I am waiting for her. Poor woman! says he, she is brought sadly down; she has had a swelling, and it is broke, and I hope she will recover, but I fear the child will die; but it is the Lord!—Here he stopt, and wept very much.

Well, honest friend, said I, thou hast a sure comforter, if thou hast brought thyself to be resigned to the will of God; he is dealing with us all in judgment.

Oh, sir, says he, it is infinite mercy if any of us are spared; and who am I to repine!

Say'st thou so, said I; and how much less is my faith than thine? And here my heart smote me, suggesting how much better this poor man's foundation was, on which he stayed in the danger, than mine; that he had nowhere to fly; that he had a family to bind him to attendance, which I had not; and mine was mere presumption, his a true dependence, and a courage resting on God; and yet, that he used all possible caution for his safety.

I turned a little way from the man, while these thoughts engaged me; for, indeed, I could no more refrain from tears than he.

At length, after some further talk, the poor woman opened the door, and called, Robert, Robert; he answered, and bid her stay a few moments, and he would come; so he ran down the common stairs to his boat, and fetched up a sack in which was the provisions he had brought from the ships; and when he returned, he hallooed again; then he went to the great stone which he showed me, and emptied the sack, and laid all out, everything by themselves, and then retired; and his wife came with a little boy to fetch them away; and he called, and said, such a captain had sent such a thing, and such a captain such a thing, and at the end adds, God has sent it all, give thanks to him. When the poor woman had taken up all, she was so weak she could not carry it at once in, though the weight was not much neither; so she left the biscuit which was in a little bag, and left a little boy to watch it till she came again.

Well, but, says I to him, did you leave her the four shillings too, which you said was your week's pay?

Yes, yes, says he, you shall hear her own it. So he calls again, Rachel, Rachel, which, it seems was her name, did you take up the money? Yes, said she How much was it? said he. Four shillings and a groat, said she. Well, well, says he, the Lord keep you all; and so he turned to go away.

As I could not refrain contributing tears to this man's story, so neither could I refrain my charity for his assistance; so I called him, Hark thee, friend, said I, come hither, for I believe thou art in health, that I may venture thee; so I pulled out my hand, which was in my pocket before, Here, says I, go and call thy Rachel once more, and give her a little more comfort from me. God will never

forsake a family that trust in him as thou dost; so I gave him four other shillings, and bid him go lay them on the stone, and call his wife.

I have not words to express the poor man's thankfulness, neither could he express it himself, but by tears running down his face. He called his wife, and told her God had moved the heart of a stranger, upon hearing their condition, to give them all that money, and a great deal more such as that he said to her. The woman too made signs of the like thankfulness, as well to heaven as to me, and joyfully picked it up; and I parted with no money all that year that I thought better bestowed.

I then asked the poor man if the distemper had not reached to Greenwich. He said it had not till about a fortnight before, but that then he feared it had; but that it was only at that end of the town which lay south towards Deptford bridge; that he went only to a butcher's shop and a grocer's, where he generally bought such things as they sent him for, but was very careful.

I asked him then, how it came to pass, that those people who had so shut themselves up in the ships had not laid in sufficient stores of all things necessary? He said some of them had, but, on the other hand, some did not come on board till they were frightened into it, and till it was too dangerous for them to go to the proper people to lay in quantities of things, and that he waited on two ships which he showed me, that had laid in little or nothing but biscuit-bread and ship-beer, and that he had bought everything else almost for them. I asked him, if there was any more ships that had separated themselves as those had done? He told me, Yes, all the way up from the point, right against Greenwich, to within the shore of Limehouse and Redriff, all the ships that could have room to ride two and two in

the middle of the stream; and that some of them had several families on board. I asked him if the distemper had not reached them? He said, he believed it had not, except two or three ships, whose people had not been so watchful to keep the seamen from going on shore as others had been; and he said it was a very fine sight to see how the ships lay up the pool.

When he said he was going over to Greenwich, as soon as the tide began to come in, I asked if he would let me go with him and bring me back; for that I had a great mind to see how the ships were ranged, as he had told me. He told me, if I would assure him on the word of a Christian, and of an honest man, that I had not the distemper, he would. I assured him that I had not; that it had pleased God to preserve me; that I lived in Whitechapel, but was too impatient of being so long within doors, and that I had ventured out so far for the refreshment of a little air, but that none in my house had so much as been touched with it.

Well, sir, says he, as your charity has been moved to pity me and my poor family, sure you cannot have so little pity left as to put yourself into my boat if you were not sound in health, which would be nothing less than killing me and ruining my whole family. The poor man troubled me so much, when he spoke of his family with such a sensible concern, and in such an affectionate manner, that I could not satisfy myself at first to go at all. I told him, I would lay aside my curiosity rather than make him uneasy; though I was sure, and very thankful for it, that I had no more distemper upon me than the freshest man in the world. Well, he would not have me put it off neither, but, to let me see how confident he was, that I was just to him, now importuned me to go; so, when the tide came

up to his boat, I went in, and he carried me to Greenwich. While he bought the things which he had in charge to buy, I walked up to the top of the hill, under which the town stands, and on the east side of the town, to get a prospect of the river; but it was a surprising sight to see the number of ships which lay in rows, two and two, and in some places, two or three such lines in the breadth of the river, and this not only up quite to the town, between the houses which we call Ratcliff and Redriff, which they name the pool, but even down the whole river, as far as the head of Long-Reach, which is as far as the hills give us leave to see it.

I cannot guess at the number of ships, but I think there must have been several hundred sail, and I could not but applaud the contrivance; for ten thousand people and more, who attended ship affairs, were certainly sheltered here from the violence of the contagion, and lived very safe and very easy.

I returned to my own dwelling, very well satisfied with my day's journey, and particularly with the poor man; also, I rejoiced to see, that such little sanctuaries were provided for so many families, in a time of such desolation. I observed also, that, as the violence of the plague had increased, so the ships which had families on board removed and went further off, till, as I was told, some went quite away to sea, and put into such harbours and safe roads on the north coast as they could best come at.

But it was also true, that all the people who thus left the land, and thus lived on board the ships, were not entirely safe from the infection; for many died and were thrown overboard into the river, some in coffins, and some, as I heard, without coffins, whose bodies were seen sometimes to drive up and down, with the tide in the river.

But I believe, I may venture to say, that, in those

ships which were thus infected, it either happened where the people had recourse to them too late, and did not fly to the ship till they had stayed too long on shore, and had the distemper upon them, though perhaps, they might not perceive it; and so the distemper did not come to them on board the ships, but they really carried it with them. Or, it was in these ships, where the poor waterman said they had not had time to furnish themselves with provisions, but were obliged to send often on shore to buy what they had occasion for, or suffered boats to come to them from the shore; and so the distemper was brought insensibly among them.

As the richer sort got into ships, so the lower rank got into hoys, smacks, lighters, and fishing-boats; and many, especially watermen, lay in their boats; but those made sad work of it, especially the latter, for going about for provision, and perhaps to get their subsistence, the infection got in among them, and made a fearful havoc; many of the watermen died alone in their wherries, as they lay at their roads, as well above bridge as below, and were not found sometimes till they were not in condition for any one to come near them.

Indeed, the distress of the people at this seafaring end of the town was very deplorable, and deserved the greatest commiseration; but, alas! this was a time when every one's private safety lay so near them, that they had no room to pity the distresses of others; for every one had death, as it were, at his door, and many even in their families; and knew not what to do, or whither to fly.

This, I say, took away all compassion; self-preservation, indeed, appeared here to be the first law. For the children ran away from their parents, as they languished in the utmost distress; and, in some cases, though not so frequent as the other, parents

did the like to their children; nay, some dreadful examples there were, and particularly two in one week, of distressed mothers, raving and distracted, killing their own children; one whereof was not far off from where I dwelt, the poor lunatic creature not living herself long enough to be sensible of the sin of what she had done, much less to be punished for it.

It is not, indeed, to be wondered at; for the danger of immediate death to ourselves, took away all bowels of love, all concern for one another. I speak in general; for there were many instances of immoveable affection, pity, and duty, in many, and some that came to my knowledge, that is to say, by hearsay; for I shall not take upon me to vouch the truth of the particulars.

To introduce one, let me first mention, that one of the most deplorable cases, in all the present calamity, was that of women with child; who, when they came to the hour of their sorrows, and their pains came upon them, could neither have help of one kind or another; neither midwife or neighbouring women to come near them; most of the midwives were dead, especially of such as served the poor; and many, if not all the midwives of note, were fled into the country; so that it was next to impossible for a poor woman, that could not pay an immoderate price, to get any midwife to come to her; and, if they did, those they could get were generally unskilful and ignorant creatures; and the consequence of this was, that a most unusual and incredible number of women were reduced to the utmost distress. Some were delivered and spoiled by the rashness and ignorance of those who pretended to lay them. Children without number, were, I might say, murdered by the same, but a more justifiable ignorance, pretending they would save

the mother whatever became of the child; and many times, both mother and child were lost in the same manner; and, especially, where the mothers had the distemper, then nobody would come near them, and both sometimes perished. Sometimes the mother has died of the plague; and the infant, it may be, half born, or born, but not parted from the mother. Some died in the very pains of their travail, and not delivered at all; and so many were the cases of this kind, that it is hard to judge of them.

Something of it will appear in the unusual numbers which are put into the weekly bills, (though I am far from allowing them to be able to give anything of a full account,) under the articles of childbed, abortive and stillborn, chrisoms and infants.

Take the weeks in which the plague was most violent, and compare them with the weeks before the distemper began, even in the same year. For example:

		Childbed.	*Ab.*	*Still-b.*
From	*Jan.* 3 to *Jan.* 10	7	1	13
	to 7	8	6	11
	to 24	9	5	15
	to 31	3	2	9
	Jan. 31 to *Feb.* 7	3	3	8
	to 14	6	2	11
	to 21	5	2	13
	to 28	2	2	10
	Feb. 7 to *Mar.* 7	5	1	10
		48	24	100

		Childbed.	Ab.	Still-b.
From	*Aug.* 1 to *Aug.* 8	25	5	11
	to 15	23	6	8
	to 22	28	4	4
	to 29	40	6	10
	Sept. 1 to *Sept.* 5	38	2	11
	to 12	39	23	—
	to 19	42	5	17
	to 26	42	6	10
	Oct. 1 to *Oct.* 3	14	4	9
		291	61	80

To the disparity of these numbers, is to be considered and allowed for, that, according to our usual opinion, who were then upon the spot, there were not one-third of the people in the town during the months of August and September, as were in the months of January and February. In a word, the usual number that used to die of these three articles, and, as I hear, did die of them the year before, was thus:

1664	*Childbed,*	189
	Abortive and Stillborn,	458
		647
1665	*Childbed,*	625
	Abortive and Stillborn,	617
		1242

This inequality, I say, is exceedingly augmented, when the numbers of people are considered. I pretend not to make any exact calculation of the numbers of people which were at this time in the

city; but I shall make a probable conjecture at that part by and by. What I have said now is to explain the misery of those poor creatures above; so that it might well be said, as in the Scripture, "Woe be to those who are with child, and to those which give suck in that day;" for, indeed, it was a woe to them in particular.

I was not conversant in many particular families where these things happened; but the outcries of the miserable were heard afar off. As to those who were with child, we have seen some calculation made, 291 women dead in childbed in nine weeks; out of one-third part of the number of whom there usually died in that time but eighty-four of the same disaster. Let the reader calculate the proportion.

There is no room to doubt but the misery of those that gave suck was, in proportion, as great. Our bills of mortality could give but little light in this; yet some it did; there were several more than usual starved at nurse; but this was nothing. The misery was, where they were (1.) starved for want of a nurse, the mother dying, and all the family and the infants found dead by them, merely for want; and, if I may speak my opinion, I do believe, that many poor helpless infants perished in this manner. (2.) Not starved, but poisoned, by the nurse; nay, even where the mother has been nurse, and, having received the infection, has poisoned, that is, infected the infant with her milk, even before they knew they were infected themselves; nay, and the infant has died in such a case before the mother. I cannot but remember to leave this admonition upon record, if ever such another dreadful visitation should happen in this city; that all women that are with child, or that give suck, should be gone, if they have any possible means, out of the place;

because their misery, if infected, will so much exceed all other people's.

I could tell here dismal stories of living infants being found sucking the breasts of their mothers, or nurses, after they have been dead of the plague. Of a mother, in the parish where I lived, who, having a child that was not well, sent for an apothecary to view the child, and when he came, as the relation goes, was giving the child suck at her breast, and to all appearance, was herself very well; but when the apothecary came close to her, he saw the tokens upon that breast with which she was suckling the child. He was surprised enough to be sure, but not willing to fright the poor woman too much, he desired she would give the child into his hand; so he takes the child, and, going to a cradle in the room, lays it in, and, opening its clothes, found the tokens upon the child too, and both died before he could get home to send a preventative medicine to the father of the child, to whom he had told their condition. Whether the child infected the nurse-mother, or the mother the child, was not certain, but the last most likely.

Likewise of a child brought home to the parents from a nurse that had died of the plague; yet the tender mother would not refuse to take in her child, and laid it in her bosom, by which she was infected, and died, with the child in her arms dead also.

It would make the hardest heart move at the instances that were frequently to be found of tender mothers, tending and watching with their dear children, and even dying before them; and sometimes taking the distemper from them, and dying, when the child, for whom the affectionate heart had been sacrificed, has got over it and escaped.

The like of a tradesman in East Smithfield,

whose wife was big with child of her first child, and fell into labour, having the plague upon her. He could neither get midwife to assist her, nor nurse to tend her; and two servants which he kept, fled both from her. He ran from house to house like one distracted, but could get no help; the utmost he could get was, that a watchman, who attended at an infected house shut up, promised to send a nurse in the morning. The poor man, with his heart broke, went back, assisted his wife what he could, acted the part of midwife, brought the child dead into the world; and his wife, in about an hour, died in his arms, where he held the dead body fast till the morning, when the watchman came and brought a nurse, as he had promised; and coming up the stairs, for he had left the door open, or only latched, they found the man sitting with his dead wife in his arms, and so overwhelmed with grief, that he died in a few hours after, without any sign of infection upon him, but merely sunk under the weight of his grief.

I have heard also of some, who, on the death of their relations, have grown stupid with the insupportable sorrow; and of one in particular, who was so absolutely overcome with the pressure upon his spirits, that, by degrees, his head sunk into his body so, between his shoulders, that the crown of his head was very little seen above the bone of his shoulders; and, by degrees, losing both voice and sense, his face looking forward, lay against his collar-bone, and could not be kept up unless held up by the hands of other people; and the poor man never came to himself again, but languished near a year in that condition, and died. Nor was he ever seen once to lift up his eyes, or to look upon any particular object.

As I am now talking of the time when the plague raged at the easternmost part of the town; how for a long time the people of those parts had flattered themselves that they should escape, and how they were surprised when it came upon them as it did; for, indeed, it came upon them like an armed man when it did come; I say, this brings me back to the three poor men who wandered from Wapping, not knowing whither to go, or what to do, and who I mentioned before; one a biscuit-baker, one a sail-maker, and the other a joiner; all of Wapping, or thereabouts; two of them were said to be brothers. Says John, the biscuit-baker, one day to Thomas, his brother, the sail-maker, Brother Tom, what will become of us? the plague grows hot in the city, and increases this way: what shall we do?

Truly, says Thomas, I am at a great loss what to do, for, I find, if it comes down into Wapping, I shall be turned out of my lodging. And thus they began to talk of it beforehand.

John. Turned out of your lodging, Tom! if you are, I don't know who will take you in; for people are so afraid of one another now, there is no getting a lodging anywhere.

Tho. Why, the people where I lodge are good civil people, and have a kindness for me too; but they say I go abroad every day to my work, and it will be dangerous; and they talk of locking themselves up, and letting nobody come near them.

John. Why, they are in the right, to be sure, if they resolve to venture staying in town.

Tho. Nay, I might even resolve to stay within doors too for, except a suit of sails that my master has in hand, and which I am just finishing, I am like to get no more work a great while; there is no work stirs now, workmen and servants are turned

off everywhere, so that I might be glad to be locked up too. But I do not see they will be willing to consent to that any more than to the other.

John. Why, what will you do then, brother? and what shall I do? for I am almost as bad as you. The people where I lodge are all gone into the country, but a maid, and she is to go the next week, and to shut the house quite up, so that I shall be turned adrift to the wide world before you; and I am resolved to go away too, if I knew but where to go.

Tho. We were both distracted we did not go away at the first, then we might have travelled anywhere; there is no stirring now; we shall be starved if we pretend to go out of town, they will not let us have victuals, no, not for our money, nor let us come into the towns, much less into their houses.

John. And that which is almost as bad, I have but little money to help myself with neither.

Tho. As to that, we might make shift; I have a little, though not much; but I tell you there is no stirring on the road. I know a couple of poor honest men in our street have attempted to travel; and at Barnet, or Whetstone, or thereabout, the people offered to fire at them, if they pretended to go forward; so they are come back again quite discouraged.

John. I would have ventured their fire, if I had been there. If I had been denied food for my money, they should have seen me take it before their faces; and if I had tendered money for it, they could not have taken any course with me by the law.

Tho. You talk your old soldier's language, as if you were in the Low Countries now; but this is a serious thing. The people have good reason to

keep anybody off that they are not satisfied are sound, at such a time as this, and we must not plunder them.

John. No, brother, you mistake the case, and mistake me too, I would plunder nobody; but for any town upon the road to deny me leave to pass through the town, in the open highway, and deny me provisions for my money, is to say the town has a right to starve me to death, which cannot be true.

Tho. But they do not deny you liberty to go back again from whence you came, and therefore they do not starve you.

John. But the next town will, by the same rule, deny me leave to go back, and so they do starve me between them; besides, there is no law to prohibit my travelling wherever I will on the road.

Tho. But there will be so much difficulty in disputing with them on the road, that it is not for poor men to do it, or undertake it, at such a time as this is especially.

John. Why, brother, our condition, at this rate, is worse than anybody's else; for we can neither go away nor stay here. I am of the same mind with the lepers of Samaria, If we stay here, we are sure to die. I mean, especially as you and I are stated, without a dwelling-house of our own, and without lodging in anybody's else; there is no lying in the street at such a time as this, we had as good go into the dead-cart at once. Therefore, I say, if we stay here we are sure to die, and if we go away we can but die; I am resolved to be gone.

Tho. You will go away. Whither will you go? and what can you do? I would as willingly go away as you, if I knew whither; but we have no acquaintance, no friends. Here we were born, and here we must die.

John. Look you, Tom, the whole kingdom is my native country as well as this town. You may as well say, I must not go out of my own house if it is on fire, as that I am not to go out of the town I was born in, when it is infected with the plague. I was born in England, and have a right to live in it if I can.

Tho. But you know every vagrant person may, by the laws of England, be taken up, and passed back to their last legal settlement.

John. But how shall they make me vagrant; I desire only to travel on, upon my lawful occasions.

Tho. What lawful occasions can we pretend to travel, or rather wander, upon? They will not be put off with words.

John. Is not flying to save our lives a lawful occasion? and do they not all know that the fact is true? we cannot be said to dissemble.

Tho. But, suppose they let us pass, whither shall we go?

John. Any way to save our lives; it is time enough to consider that when we are gone out of this town. If I am once out of this dreadful place, I care not where I go.

Tho. We shall be driven to great extremities. I know not what to think of it.

John. Well, Tom, consider of it a little.

This was about the beginning of July; and though the plague was come forward in the west and north parts of the town, yet all Wapping, as I have observed before, and Redriff, and Ratcliff, and Limehouse, and Poplar, in short, Deptford and Greenwich, all on both sides of the river from the Hermitage, and from over-against it, quite down to Blackwall, was entirely free; there had not one person died of the plague in all Stepney parish, and

not one on the south side of Whitechapel-road, no, not in any parish; and yet the weekly bill was that very week risen up to 1006.

It was a fortnight after this before the two brothers met again, and then the case was a little altered, and the plague was exceedingly advanced, and the number greatly increased. The bill was up at 2785, and prodigiously increasing; though still both sides of the river, as below, kept pretty well. But some began to die in Redriff, and about five or six in Redriff-highway, when the sail-maker came to his brother John, express, and in some fright; for he was absolutely warned out of his lodging, and had only a week to provide himself. His brother John was in as bad a case, for he was quite out; and had only begged leave of his master, the biscuit-baker, to lodge in an outhouse belonging to his workhouse, where he only lay upon straw, with some biscuit-sacks, or bread-sacks, as they called them, laid upon it, and some of the same sacks to cover him.

Here they resolved, seeing all employment being at an end, and no work or wages to be had, they would make the best of their way to get out of the reach of the dreadful infection; and being as good husbands as they could, would endeavour to live upon what they had as long as it would last, and then work for more, if they could get work anywhere of any kind, let it be what it would.

While they were considering to put this resolution in practice in the best manner they could, the third man, who was acquainted very well with the sail-maker, came to know of the design, and got leave to be one of the number; and thus they prepared to set out.

It happened that they had not an equal share of

money; but as the sail-maker, who had the best stock, was, besides his being lame, the most unfit to expect anything by working in the country, so he was content that what money they had should all go into one public stock, on condition that whatever any one of them could gain more than another, it should, without any grudging, be all added to the public stock.

They resolved to load themselves with as little baggage as possible, because they resolved at first to travel on foot, and to go a great way, that they might, if possible, be effectually safe. And a great many consultations they had with themselves before they could agree about what way they should travel; which they were so far from adjusting, that even to the morning they set out, they were not resolved on it.

At last, the seaman put in a hint that determined it. First, says he, the weather is very hot, and, therefore, I am for travelling north, that we may not have the sun in our faces and beating on our breasts, which will heat and suffocate us; and I have been told, says he, that it is not good to overheat our blood at a time when, for aught we know, the infection may be in the very air. In the next place, says he, I am for going the way that may be contrary to the wind as it may blow when we set out, that we may not have the wind blow the air of the city on our backs as we go. These two cautions were approved of, if it could be brought so to hit that the wind might not be in the south when they set out to go north.

John, the baker, who had been a soldier, then put in his opinion. First, says he, we none of us expect to get any lodging on the road, and it will be a little too hard to lie just in the open air;

though it be warm weather, yet it may be wet and damp, and we have a double reason to take care of our healths at such a time as this; and, therefore, says he, you, brother Tom, that are a sail-maker, might easily make us a little tent, and I will undertake to set it up every night, and take it down in the morning, and a fig for all the inns in England; if we have a good tent over our heads, we shall do well enough.

The joiner opposed this, and told them, let them leave that to him; he would undertake to build them a house every night with his hatchet and mallet, though he had no other tools, which should be fully to their satisfaction, and as good as a tent.

The soldier and the joiner disputed that point some time, but, at last, the soldier carried it for a tent; the only objection against it was, that it must be carried with them, and that would increase their baggage too much, the weather being hot. But the sail-maker had a piece of good hap fell in, which made that easy; for his master who he worked for, having a rope-walk as well as sail-making trade, had a little poor horse that he made no use of then, and being willing to assist the three honest men, he gave them the horse for the carrying their baggage; also, for a small matter of three days' work that his man did for him before he went, he let him have an old top-gallant sail that was worn out, but was sufficient, and more than enough, to make a very good tent. The soldier showed how to shape it, and they soon, by his direction, made their tent, and fitted it with poles or staves for the purpose, and thus they were furnished for their journey; viz. three men, one tent, one horse, one gun for the soldier, who would not go without arms, for now he said he was no more a biscuit-baker but a trooper. The joiner had a small bag of tools, such

as might be useful, if he should get any work abroad, as well for their subsistence as his own. What money they had, they brought all into one public stock; and thus they began their journey. It seems that in the morning when they set out, the wind blew, as the sailor said, by his pocket-compass, at N. W. by W.; so they directed, or rather resolved to direct, their course N. W.

But then a difficulty came in their way, that as they set out from the hither end of Wapping, near the Hermitage, and that the plague was now very violent, especially on the north side of the city, as in Shoreditch and Cripplegate parish, they did not think it safe for them to go near those parts; so they went away east through Ratcliff-highway, and leaving Stepney church still on their left hand, being afraid to come up from Ratcliff-cross to Mile-end, because they must come just by the church-yard; and because the wind, that seemed to blow more from the west, blowed directly from the side of the city where the plague was hottest. So, I say, leaving Stepney, they fetched a long compass, and going to Poplar and Bromley, came into the great road just at Bow.

Here the watch on Bow-bridge would have questioned them; but they, crossing the road into a narrow way that turns out of the hither end of the town of Bow to Oldford, avoided any inquiry there, and travelled to Oldford. The constables, everywhere on their guard, not so much it seems to stop people passing by, as to stop them from taking up their abode in their towns; and, withal, because of a report that was newly raised at that time, and that indeed was not very improbable, viz., that the poor people in London, being in distress, and starved for want of work, and, by that means, for want of bread, were up in arms, and had raised a tumult,

and that they would come out to all the towns round to plunder for bread.

Here they were only examined, and as they seemed rather coming from the country than from the city, they found the people the easier with them; that they talked to them, let them come into a public house, where the constable and his warders were, and gave them drink and some victuals, which greatly refreshed and encouraged them; and here it came into their heads to say, when they should be inquired of afterwards, not that they came from London, but that they came out of Essex.

To forward this little fraud, they obtained so much favour of the constable at Oldford, as to give them a certificate of their passing from Essex through that village, and that they had not been at London; which, though false in the common acceptation of London in the country, yet was literally true; Wapping or Ratcliff being no part either of the city or liberty.

This certificate, directed to the next constable, that was at Homerton, one of the hamlets of the parish of Hackney, was so serviceable to them, that it procured them not a free passage there only, but a full certificate of health from a justice of the peace; who, upon the constable's application, granted it without much difficulty. And thus they passed through the town of Hackney, (for it lay then in several separated hamlets,) and travelled on till they came into the great north road on the top of Stamford hill.

By this time they began to weary; and so, in the back road from Hackney, a little before it opened into the said great road, they resolved to set up their tent and encamp for the night; which they did accordingly, with this addition, that finding a barn, or

a building like a barn, and first searching as well as they could to be sure there was nobody in it, they set up their tent with the head of it against the barn; this they did also because the wind blew that night very high, and they were but young at such a way of lodging, as well as at the managing their tent.

Here they went to sleep; but the joiner, a grave and sober man, and not pleased with their lying at this loose rate the first night, could not sleep, and resolved, after trying it to no purpose, that he would get out, and taking the gun in his hand, stand sentinel, and guard his companions. So, with the gun in his hand, he walked to and again before the barn, for that stood in the field near the road, but within the hedge. He had not been long upon the scout but he heard a noise of people coming on as if it had been a great number, and they came on, as he thought, directly towards the barn. He did not presently awake his companions, but in a few minutes more their noise growing louder and louder, the biscuit-baker called to him and asked him what was the matter, and quickly started out too. The other being the lame sail-maker, and the most weary, lay still in the tent.

As they expected, so the people whom they had heard, came on directly to the barn; when one of our travellers challenged, like soldiers upon the guard, with, Who comes there? The people did not answer immediately, but one of them speaking to another that was behind him, Alas! alas! we are all disappointed, says he, here are some people before us; the barn is taken up.

They all stopped upon that, as under some surprise; and, it seems, there were thirteen of them in all, and some women among them. They consulted together what they should do; and by their

discourse, our travellers soon found they were poor distressed people too, like themselves, seeking shelter and safety; and besides, our travellers had no need to be afraid of their coming up to disturb them, for as soon as they heard the words, Who comes there? they could hear the women say, as if frighted, Do not go near them; how do you know but they may have the plague? And when one of the men said, Let us but speak to them, the women said, No, do not by any means; we have escaped thus far, by the goodness of God; do not let us run into danger now, we beseech you.

Our travellers found by this, that they were a good sort of sober people, and flying for their lives as they were; and as they were encouraged by it, so John said to the joiner, his comrade, Let us encourage them too as much as we can. So he called to them, Hark ye, good people, says the joiner, we find by your talk that you are flying from the same dreadful enemy as we are; do not be afraid of us, we are only three poor men of us; if you are free from the distemper you shall not be hurt by us; we are not in the barn, but in a little tent here in the outside, and we will remove for you; we can set up our tent immediately anywhere else. And upon this a parley began between the joiner, whose name was Richard, and one of their men, whose name was Ford.

Ford. And do you assure us that you are all sound men?

Rich. Nay, we are concerned to tell you of it, that you may not be uneasy, or think yourselves in danger; but you see we do not desire you should put yourselves into any danger, and, therefore, I tell you, that we have not made use of the barn, so we will remove from it that you may be safe and we also.

Ford. That is very kind and charitable. But if we have reason to be satisfied that you are sound and free from the visitation, why should we make you remove now you are settled in your lodging, and it may be are laid down to rest? we will go into the barn, if you please, to rest ourselves a while, and we need not disturb you.

Rich. Well, but you are more than we are; I hope you will assure us that you are all of you sound too, for the danger is as great from you to us, as from us to you.

Ford. Blessed be God that some do escape, though it be but few; what may be our portion still, we know not, but hitherto we are preserved.

Rich. What part of the town do you come from? Was the plague come to the places where you lived?

Ford. Ay, ay, in a most frightful and terrible manner, or else we had not fled away as we do; but we believe there will be very few left alive behind us.

Rich. What part do you come from?

Ford. We are most of us from Cripplegate parish, only two or three of Clerkenwell parish, but on the hither side.

Rich. How then was it that you came away no sooner?

Ford. We have been away some time, and kept together as well as we could at the hither end of Islington, where we got leave to lie in an old uninhabited house, and had some bedding and conveniences of our own that we brought with us; but the plague is come up into Islington too, and a house next door to our poor dwelling was infected and shut up, and we are come away in a fright.

Rich. And what way are you going?

Ford. As our lot shall cast us, we know not

whither; but God will guide those that look up to him.

They parleyed no further at that time, but came all up to the barn, and with some difficulty got into it. There was nothing but hay in the barn, but it was almost full of that, and they accommodated themselves as well as they could, and went to rest; but our travellers observed, that before they went to sleep, an ancient man, who it seems was the father of one of the women, went to prayer with all the company, recommending themselves to the blessing and protection of providence before they went to sleep.

It was soon day at that time of the year; and as Richard, the joiner, had kept guard the first part of the night, so John, the soldier, relieved him, and he had the post in the morning, and they began to be acquainted with one another. It seems, when they left Islington, they intended to have gone north away to Highgate, but were stopped at Holloway, and there they would not let them pass; so they crossed over the fields and hills to the eastward, and came out at the Boarded-river, and so avoiding the towns, they left Hornsey on the left hand, and Newington on the right hand, and came into the great road about Stamford-hill on that side, as the three travellers had done on the other side. And now they had thoughts of going over the river in the marshes, and making forward to Epping forest, where they hoped they should get leave to rest. It seems they were not poor, at least not so poor as to be in want; at least they had enough to subsist them moderately for two or three months, when, as they said, they were in hopes the cold weather would check the infection, or at least the violence of it would have spent itself; and

would abate, if it were only for want of people left alive to be infected.

This was much the fate of our three travellers; only that they seemed to be the better furnished for travelling, and had it in their view to go further off; for as to the first, they did not propose to go further than one day's journey, that so they might have intelligence every two or three days how things were at London.

But here our travellers found themselves under an unexpected inconvenience, namely, that of their horse; for, by means of the horse to carry their baggage, they were obliged to keep in the road, whereas, the people of this other band went over the fields or roads, path or no path, way or no way, as they pleased; neither had they any occasion to pass through any town, or come near any town, other than to buy such things as they wanted for their necessary subsistence, and in that indeed they were put to much difficulty; of which in its place.

But our three travellers were obliged to keep the road, or else they must commit spoil, and do the country a great deal of damage, in breaking down fences and gates, to go over inclosed fields, which they were loath to do if they could help it.

Our three travellers, however, had a great mind to join themselves to this company, and take their lot with them; and, after some discourse, they laid aside their first design, which looked northward, and resolved to follow the other into Essex; so in the morning they took up their tent and loaded their horse, and away they travelled all together.

They had some difficulty in passing the ferry at the river-side, the ferryman being afraid of them; but, after some parley at a distance, the ferryman

was content to bring his boat to a place distant from the usual ferry, and leave it there for them to take it; so, putting themselves over, he directed them to leave the boat, and, having another boat, said he would fetch it again; which it seems, however, he did not do for above eight days.

Here, giving the ferryman money beforehand, they had a supply of victuals and drink, which he brought and left in the boat for them, but not without, as I said, having received the money beforehand. But now our travellers were at a great loss and difficulty how to get the horse over, the boat being small and not fit for it; and at last could not do it without unloading the baggage and making him swim over.

From the river they travelled towards the forest; but when they came to Walthamstow, the people of that town denied to admit them, as was the case everywhere; the constables and their watchmen kept them off at a distance, and parleyed with them. They gave the same account of themselves as before, but these gave no credit to what they said, giving it for a reason, that two or three companies had already come that way and made the like pretences, but that they had given several people the distemper in the towns where they had passed, and had been afterwards so hardly used by the country, though with justice too, as they had deserved, that, about Brentwood or that way, several of them perished in the fields; whether of the plague, or of mere want and distress, they could not tell.

This was a good reason, indeed, why the people of Walthamstow should be very cautious, and why they should resolve not to entertain anybody that they were not well satisfied of; but, as Richard, the joiner, and one of the other men, who parleyed with them, told them, it was no reason why they

should block up the roads, and refuse to let the people pass through the town, and who asked nothing of them, but to go through the street; that, if their people were afraid of them, they might go into their houses and shut their doors; they would neither show them civility nor incivility, but go on about their business.

The constables and attendants, not to be persuaded by reason, continued obstinate, and would hearken to nothing, so the two men that talked with them went back to their fellows, to consult what was to be done. It was very discouraging in the whole, and they knew not what to do for a good while; but, at last, John, the soldier and biscuit-baker, considering awhile, Come, says he, leave the rest of the parley to me. He had not appeared yet; so he sets the joiner Richard to work to cut some poles out of the trees, and shape them as like guns as he could, and, in a little time, he had five or six fair muskets, which at a distance would not be known; and about the part where the lock of a gun is, he caused them to wrap cloth and rags, such as they had, as soldiers do in wet weather to preserve the locks of their pieces from rust; the rest was discoloured with clay or mud, such as they could get; and all this while the rest of them sat under the trees by his direction, in two or three bodies, where they made fires at a good distance from one another.

While this was doing, he advanced himself, and two or three with him, and set up their tent in the lane, within sight of the barrier which the townsmen had made, and set a sentinel just by it with the real gun, the only one they had, and who walked to and fro with the gun on his shoulder, so as that the people of the town might see them; also he tied the horse to a gate in the hedge just by, and got

some dry sticks together, and kindled a fire on the other side of the tent, so that the people of the town could see the fire and the smoke, but could not see what they were doing at it.

After the country people had looked upon them very earnestly a great while, and by all that they could see, could not but suppose that they were a great many in company, they began to be uneasy, not for their going away, but for staying where they were: and above all, perceiving they had horses and arms, for they had seen one horse and one gun at the tent, and they had seen others of them walk about the field on the inside of the hedge by the side of the lane with their muskets, as they took them to be, shouldered; I say, upon such a sight as this, you may be assured they were alarmed and terribly frightened; and it seems they went to a justice of the peace, to know what they should do. What the justice advised them to I know not, but towards the evening, they called from the barrier, as above, to the sentinel at the tent.

What do you want? says John.

Why, what do you intend to do? says the constable.

To do, says John, What would you have us to do?

Const. Why don't you be gone? What do you stay there for?

John. Why do you stop us on the king's highway, and pretend to refuse us leave to go on our way?

Const. We are not bound to tell you the reason, though we did let you know it was because of the plague.

John. We told you we were all sound and free from the plague, which we were not bound to have

satisfied you of; and yet you pretend to stop us on the highway.

Const. We have a right to stop it up, and our own safety obliges us to it; besides, this is not the king's highway, it is a way upon sufferance. You see here is a gate, and, if we do let people pass here, we make them pay toll.

John. We have a right to seek our own safety as well as you, and you may see are flying for our lives, and it is very unchristian and unjust in you to stop us.

Const. You may go back from whence you came; we do not hinder you from that.

John. No, it is a stronger enemy than you that keeps us from doing that, or else we should not have come hither.

Const. Well, you may go any other way then.

John. No, no; I suppose you see we are able to send you going and all the people of your parish, and come through your town when we will, but, since you have stopt us here, we are content; you see we have encamped here, and here we will live; we hope you will furnish us with victuals.

Const. We furnish you! What mean you by that?

John. Why, you would not have us starve, would you? If you stop us here, you must keep us.

Const. You will be ill kept at our maintenance.

John. If you stint us, we shall make ourselves the better allowance.

Const. Why, you will not pretend to quarter upon us by force, will you?

John. We have offered no violence to you yet, why do you seem to oblige us to it? I am an old soldier, and cannot starve; and if you think that we shall be obliged to go back for want of provisions, you are mistaken.

Const. Since you threaten us, we shall take care to be strong enough for you. I have orders to raise the county upon you.

John. It is you that threaten, not we; and, since you are for mischief, you cannot blame us if we do not give you time for it. We shall begin our march in a few minutes.

Const. What is it you demand of us?

John. At first we desired nothing of you but leave to go through the town. We should have offered no injury to any of you, neither would you have had any injury or loss by us; we are not thieves, but poor people in distress, and flying from the dreadful plague in London, which devours thousands every week. We wonder how you could be so unmerciful!

Const. Self-preservation obliges us.

John. What! To shut up your compassion in a case of such distress as this?

Const. Well, if you will pass over the fields on your left hand, and behind that part of the town, I will endeavour to have gates opened for you.

John. Our horsemen cannot pass with our baggage that way; it does not lead into the road that we want to go, and why should you force us out of the road? Besides, you have kept us here all day without any provisions but such as we brought with us; I think you ought to send us some provisions for our relief.

Const. If you will go another way, we will send you some provisions.

John. That is the way to have all the towns in the county stop up the ways against us.

Const. If they all furnish you with food, what will you be the worse? I see you have tents, you want no lodging.

John. Well; what quantity of provisions will you send us?

Const. How many are you?

John. Nay, we do not ask enough for all our company; we are in three companies. If you will send us bread for twenty men and about six or seven women for three days, and show us the way over the field you speak of, we desire not to put your people into any fear for us; we will go out of our way to oblige you, though we are as free from infection as you are.

Const. And will you assure us that your other people shall offer us no new disturbance?

John. No, no; you may depend on it.

Const. You must oblige yourself too, that none of your people shall come a step nearer than where the provisions we send you shall be set down.

John. I answer for it we will not.

Accordingly, they sent to the place twenty loaves of bread and three or four large pieces of good beef, and opened some gates, through which they passed, but none of them had courage so much as to look out to see them go; and, as it was evening, if they had looked, they could not have seen them so as to know how few they were.

This was John the soldier's management; but this gave such an alarm to the county, that, had they really been two or three hundred, the whole county would have been raised upon them, and they would have been sent to prison, or perhaps knocked on the head.

They were soon made sensible of this; for two days afterwards they found several parties of horsemen and footmen also about, in pursuit of three companies of men armed, as they said, with muskets, who were broke out from London and had the

plague upon them; and that were not only spreading the distemper among the people, but plundering the country.

As they saw now the consequence of their case, they soon saw the danger they were in; so they resolved, by the advice also of the old soldier, to divide themselves again. John and his two comrades with the horse went away as if towards Waltham; the other in two companies, but all a little asunder, and went towards Epping.

The first night they encamped all in the forest, and not far off from one another, but not setting up the tent for fear that should discover them. On the other hand, Richard went to work with his axe and his hatchet, and cutting down branches of trees, he built three tents or hovels, in which they all encamped with as much convenience as they could expect.

The provisions they had at Walthamstow served them very plentifully this night, and as for the next, they left it to providence. They had fared so well with the old soldier's conduct, that they now willingly made him their leader, and the first of his conduct appeared to be very good. He told them, that they were now at a proper distance enough from London; that, as they need not be immediately beholden to the country for relief, they ought to be as careful the country did not infect them, as that they did not infect the country; that what little money they had, they must be as frugal of as they could; that as he would not have them think of offering the country any violence, so they must endeavour to make the sense of their condition go as far with the country as it could. They all referred themselves to his direction; so they left their three houses standing, and the next day went away towards Epping; the captain also, for so they now

called him, and his two fellow-travellers, laid aside their design of going to Waltham, and all went together.

When they came near Epping, they halted, choosing out a proper place in the open forest, not very near the highway, but not far out of it, on the north side, under a little cluster of low pollard trees. Here they pitched their little camp, which consisted of three large tents or huts made of poles, which their carpenter, and such as were his assistants, cut down and fixed in the ground in a circle, binding all the small ends together at the top, and thickening the sides with boughs of trees and bushes, so that they were completely close and warm. They had besides this, a little tent where the women lay by themselves, and a hut to put the horse in.

It happened, that the next day, or the next but one, was market-day at Epping, when captain John and one of the other men went to market, and bought some provisions; that is to say, bread, and some mutton and beef, and two of the women went separately, as if they had not belonged to the rest, and bought more. John took the horse to bring it home, and the sack, which the carpenter carried his tools in, to put it in; the carpenter went to work, and made them benches and stools to sit on, such as the wood he could get would afford, and a kind of a table to dine on.

They were taken no notice of for two or three days, but after that abundance of people ran out of the town to look at them, and all the country was alarmed about them. The people at first seemed afraid to come near them; and, on the other hand, they desired the people to keep off, for there was a rumour that the plague was at Waltham, and that it had been in Epping two or three days; so John called out to them not to come to them, For, says

he, we are all whole and sound people here, and we would not have you bring the plague among us, nor pretend we brought it among you.

After this the parish officers came up to them, and parleyed with them at a distance, and desired to know who they were, and by what authority they pretended to fix their stand at that place? John answered very frankly, they were poor distressed people from London, who, foreseeing the misery they should be reduced to, if the plague spread into the city, had fled out in time for their lives, and, having no acquaintance or relations to fly to, had first taken up at Islington, but the plague being come into that town, were fled further; and, as they supposed that the people of Epping might have refused them coming into their town, they had pitched their tents thus in the open field, and in the forest, being willing to bear all the hardships of such a disconsolate lodging, rather than have any one think, or be afraid, that they should receive injury by them.

At first the Epping people talked roughly to them, and told them they must remove; that this was no place for them; and that they pretended to be sound and well, but that they might be infected with the plague for aught they knew, and might infect the whole country, and they could not suffer them there.

John argued very calmly with them a great while, and told them, that London was the place by which they, that is, the townsmen of Epping and all the country round them, subsisted; to whom they sold the produce of their lands, and out of whom they made the rents of their farms; and to be so cruel to the inhabitants of London, or to any of those by whom they gained so much, was very hard; and they would be loath to have it remembered hereafter, and have it told, how barbarous, how inhospitable, and how unkind they were to the people of London,

when they fled from the face of the most terrible enemy in the world; that it would be enough to make the name of an Epping man hateful through all the city, and to have the rabble stone them in the very streets, whenever they came so much as to market; that they were not yet secure from being visited themselves, and that, as he heard, Waltham was already; that they would think it very hard, that when any of them fled for fear before they were touched, they should be denied the liberty of lying so much as in the open fields.

The Epping men told them again, that they, indeed, said they were sound and free from the infection, but that they had no assurance of it; and that it was reported, that there had been a great rabble of people at Walthamstow, who made such pretences of being sound as they did, but that they threatened to plunder the town, and force their way whether the parish officers would or no; that there were near two hundred of them, and had arms and tents like Low Country soldiers; that they extorted provisions from the town, by threatening them with living upon them at free quarter, showing their arms, and talking in the language of soldiers; and that several of them having gone away towards Rumford and Brentwood, the country had been infected by them, and the plague spread into both those large towns, so that they durst not go to market there as usual; that it was very likely they were some of that party; and if so, they deserved to be sent to the county gaol, and be secured till they had made satisfaction for the damage they had done, and for the terror and fright they had put the country into.

John answered, that what other people had done was nothing to them; that they assured them they were all of one company; that they had never been

more in number than they saw them at that time, (which, by the way, was very true); that they came out in two separate companies, but joined by the way, their cases being the same; that they were ready to give what account of themselves anybody desired of them, and to give in their names and places of abode, that so they might be called to an account for any disorder that they might be guilty of; that the townsmen might see they were content to live hardly, and only desired a little room to breathe in on the forest where it was wholesome; for where it was not, they could not stay, and would decamp if they found it otherwise there.

But, said the townsmen, we have a great charge of poor upon our hands already, and we must take care not to increase it; we suppose you can give us no security against your being chargeable to our parish and to the inhabitants, any more than you can of being dangerous to us as to the infection.

Why, look you, says John, as to being chargeable to you, we hope we shall not; if you will relieve us with provisions for our present necessity, we will be very thankful; as we all lived without charity when we were at home, so we will oblige ourselves fully to repay you, if God please to bring us back to our own families and houses in safety, and to restore health to the people of London.

As to our dying here, we assure you, if any of us die, we that survive will bury them, and put you to no expense, except it should be that we should all die, and then, indeed, the last man, not being able to bury himself, would put you to that single expense, which, I am persuaded, says John, he would leave enough behind him to pay you for the expense of.

On the other hand, says John, if you will shut up all bowels of compassion, and not relieve us at all, we shall not extort anything by violence, or steal

from any one; but when that little we have is spent, if we perish for want, God's will be done.

John wrought so upon the townsmen, by talking thus rationally and smoothly to them, that they went away; and though they did not give their consent to their staying there, yet they did not molest them, and the poor people continued there three or four days longer without any disturbance. In this time they had got some remote acquaintance with a victualling-house on the outskirts of the town, to whom they called, at a distance, to bring some little things that they wanted, and which they caused to be set down at some distance, and always paid for very honestly.

During this time, the younger people of the town came frequently pretty near them, and would stand and look at them, and would sometimes talk with them at some space between; and, particularly it was observed, that the first Sabbath-day the poor people kept retired, worshipped God together, and were heard to sing psalms.

These things, and a quiet inoffensive behaviour, began to get them the good opinion of the country, and the people began to pity them and speak very well of them; the consequence of which was, that, upon the occasion of a very wet rainy night, a certain gentleman, who lived in the neighbourhood, sent them a little cart with twelve trusses or bundles of straw, as well for them to lodge upon as to cover and thatch their huts, and to keep them dry. The minister of a parish not far off, not knowing of the other, sent them also two bushels of wheat and half a bushel of white peas.

They were very thankful, to be sure, for this relief, and particularly the straw was a very great comfort to them; for though the ingenious carpenter had made them frames to lie in, like troughs,

and filled them with leaves of trees and such things as they could get, and had cut all their tentcloth out to make coverlids, yet they lay damp and hard, and unwholesome till this straw came, which was to them like feather-beds; and, as John said, more than feather-beds would have been at another time.

This gentleman and the minister having thus begun, and given an example of charity to these wanderers, others quickly followed, and they received every day some benevolence or other from the people, but chiefly from the gentlemen who dwelt in the country round about; some sent them chairs, stools, tables, and such household things as they gave notice they wanted; some sent them blankets, rugs, and coverlids; some earthen ware, and some kitchen ware for ordering their food.

Encouraged by this good usage, their carpenter, in a few days, built them a large shed or house with rafters, and a roof in form, and an upper floor, in which they lodged warm, for the weather began to be damp and cold in the beginning of September; but this house being very well thatched, and the sides and roof very thick, kept out the cold well enough; he made also an earthen wall at one end, with a chimney in it; and another of the company, with a vast deal of trouble and pains, made a funnel to the chimney to carry out the smoke.

Here they lived comfortably, though coarsely, till the beginning of September, when they had the bad news to hear, whether true or not, that the plague, which was very hot at Waltham-abbey on the one side, and Rumford and Brentwood on the other side, was also come to Epping, to Woodford, and to most of the towns upon the forest; and which, as they said, was brought down among them chiefly by the higglers, and such people as went to and from London with provisions.

If this was true, it was an evident contradiction to the report which was afterwards spread all over England, but which, as I have said, I cannot confirm of my own knowledge, namely, that the market-people, carrying provisions to the city, never got the infection, or carried it back into the country; both which, I have been assured, has been false.

It might be that they were preserved even beyond expectation, though not to a miracle; that abundance went and came and were not touched, and that was much encouragement for the poor people of London, who had been completely miserable if the people that brought provisions to the markets had not been many times wonderfully preserved, or at least were preserved, than could be reasonably expected.

But these new inmates began to be disturbed more effectually; for the towns about them were really infected, and they began to be afraid to trust one another so much as to go abroad for the things as they wanted, and this pinched them very hard, for now they had little or nothing but what the charitable gentlemen of the country supplied them with; but, for their encouragement, it happened that other gentlemen in the country, who had not sent them anything before, began to hear of them and supply them; and one sent them a large pig, that is to say, a porker; another two sheep, and another sent them a calf; in short, they had meat enough, and sometimes had cheese and milk, and such things. They were chiefly put to it for bread, for when the gentlemen sent them corn, they had nowhere to bake it or to grind it; this made them eat the first two bushels of wheat that was sent them in parched corn, as the Israelites of old did, without grinding or making bread of it.

At last they found means to carry their corn to a

windmill near Woodford, where they had it ground; and afterwards, the biscuit-baker made a hearth so hollow and dry, that he could bake biscuit-cakes tolerably well; and thus they came into a condition to live without any assistance or supplies from the towns; and it was well they did, for the country was soon after fully infected, and about a hundred and twenty were said to have died of the distemper in the villages near them, which was a terrible thing to them.

On this they called a new council, and now the towns had no need to be afraid they should settle near them; but, on the contrary, several families of the poorer sort of the inhabitants quitted their houses and built huts in the forest, after the same manner as they had done. But it was observed, that several of these poor people that had so removed, had the sickness even in their huts or booths; the reason of which was plain, namely, not because they removed into the air, but because they did not remove time enough; that is to say, not till by openly conversing with other people their neighbours, that had the distemper upon them, or, as may be said, among them, and so carried it about with them whither they went. Or, (2.) Because they were not careful enough after they were safely removed out of the towns, not to come again and mingle with the diseased people.

But be it which of these it will, when our travellers began to perceive that the plague was not only in the towns, but even in the tents and huts on the forest near them, they began then not only to be afraid, but to think of decamping and removing; for had they stayed, they would have been in manifest danger of their lives.

It is not to be wondered that they were greatly afflicted at being obliged to quit the place where

they had been so kindly received, and where they had been treated with so much humanity and charity; but necessity, and the hazard of life, which they came out so far to preserve, prevailed with them, and they saw no remedy. John, however, thought of a remedy for their present misfortune, namely, that he would first acquaint that gentleman who was their principal benefactor, with the distress they were in; and to crave his assistance and advice.

The good charitable gentleman encouraged them to quit the place, for fear they should be cut off from any retreat at all, by the violence of the distemper; but whither they should go, that he found very hard to direct them to. At last John asked of him, whether he, being a justice of the peace, would give them certificates of health to other justices who they might come before, that so, whatever might be their lot, they might not be repulsed now they had been also so long from London. This his worship immediately granted, and gave them proper letters of health; and from thence they were at liberty to travel whither they pleased.

Accordingly, they had a full certificate of health, intimating that they had resided in a village in the county of Essex, so long; that being examined and scrutinized sufficiently, and having been retired from all conversation for above forty days, without any appearance of sickness, they were, therefore, certainly concluded to be sound men, and might be safely entertained anywhere; having at last removed rather for fear of the plague, which was come into such a town, rather than for having any signal of infection upon them, or upon any belonging to them.

With this certificate they removed, though with great reluctance; and John, inclining not to go far

from home, they removed toward the marshes on the side of Waltham. But here they found a man who, it seems, kept a weir or stop upon the river, made to raise water for the barges which go up and down the river, and he terrified them with dismal stories of the sickness having been spread into all the towns on the river, and near the river, on the side of Middlesex and Hertfordshire; that is to say, into Waltham, Waltham-cross, Enfield, and Ware, and all the towns on the road, that they were afraid to go that way; though, it seems, the man imposed upon them, for that the thing was not really true.

However, it terrified them, and they resolved to move across the forest towards Rumford and Brentwood; but they heard that there were numbers of people fled out of London that way, who lay up and down in the forest, reaching near Rumford; and who, having no subsistence or habitation, not only lived oddly, and suffered great extremities in the woods and fields for want of relief, but were said to be made so desperate by those extremities, as that they offered many violences to the country, robbed, and plundered, and killed cattle, and the like; and others, building huts and hovels by the road-side, begged, and that with an importunity next door to demanding relief; so that the country was very uneasy, and had been obliged to take some of them up.

This, in the first place, intimated to them, that they would be sure to find the charity and kindness of the county, which they had found here where they were before, hardened and shut up against them; and that, on the other hand, they would be questioned wherever they came, and would be in danger of violence from others in like cases with themselves.

Upon all these considerations, John, their cap-

tain, in all their names, went back to their good friend and benefactor, who had relieved them before, and laying their case truly before him, humbly asked his advice; and he as kindly advised them to take up their old quarters again, or, if not, to remove but a little further out of the road, and directed them to a proper place for them; and as they really wanted some house, rather than huts, to shelter them at that time of the year, it growing on towards Michaelmas, they found an old decayed house, which had been formerly some cottage or little habitation, but was so out of repair as scarce habitable; and by consent of a farmer, to whose farm it belonged, they got leave to make what use of it they could.

The ingenious joiner, and all the rest by his directions, went to work with it, and in a very few days made it capable to shelter them all, in case of bad weather; and in which there was an old chimney and an old oven, though both lying in ruins, yet they made them both fit for use; and raising additions, sheds and leantoes on every side, they soon made the house capable to hold them all.

They chiefly wanted boards to make window-shutters, floors, doors, and several other things: but as the gentleman above favoured them, and the country was by that means made easy with them; and, above all, that they were known to be all sound and in good health, everybody helped them with what they could spare.

Here they encamped for good and all, and resolved to remove no more; they saw plainly how terribly alarmed that country was everywhere, at anybody that came from London; and that they should have no admittance anywhere but with the utmost difficulty, at least no friendly reception and assistance as they had received here.

Now, although they received great assistance and encouragement from the country gentlemen, and from the people round about them, yet they were put to great straits, for the weather grew cold and wet in October and November, and they had not been used to so much hardship; so that they got colds in their limbs, and distempers, but never had the infection. And thus, about December, they came home to the city again.

I give this story at large, principally to give an account what became of the great numbers of people which appeared in the city as soon as the sickness abated; for, as I have said, great numbers of those that were able, and had retreats in the country, fled to those retreats. So when it was increased to such a dreadful extremity as I have related, the middling people who had no friends, fled to all parts of the country where they could get shelter, as well those that had money to relieve themselves, as those that had not. Those that had money always fled furthest, because they were able to subsist themselves; but those who were empty, suffered, as I have said, great hardships, and were often driven by necessity to relieve their wants at the expense of the country. By that means the country was made very uneasy at them, and sometimes took them up, though even then they scarce knew what to do with them, and were always very backward to punish them; but often, too, they forced them from place to place, till they were obliged to come back again to London.

I have, since knowing this story of John and his brother, inquired and found that there were a great many of the poor disconsolate people, as above, fled into the country every way; and some of them got little sheds, and barns, and outhouses to live in, where they could obtain so much kindness of the

country; and especially where they had any the least satisfactory account to give of themselves, and particularly that they did not come out of London too late. But others, and that in great numbers, built themselves little huts and retreats in the fields and woods, and lived like hermits in holes and caves, or any place they could find; and where, we may be sure, they suffered great extremities, such that many of them were obliged to come back again, whatever the danger was; and so those little huts were often found empty, and the country people supposed the inhabitants lay dead in them of the plague, and would not go near them for fear, no not in a great while; nor is it unlikely but that some of the unhappy wanderers might die so all alone, even sometimes for want of help, as particularly in one tent or hut, was found a man dead; and on the gate of a field just by, was cut with his knife in uneven letters, the following words, by which it may be supposed the other man escaped, or that one dying first, the other had buried him as well as he could;

O m I s E r Y!
We Bo T H Sh a L L D y E,
W o E, W o E.

There was one unhappy citizen, within my knowledge, who had been visited in a dreadful manner, so that his wife and all his children were dead, and himself and two servants left only, with an elderly woman, a near relation, who had nursed those that were dead as well as she could. This disconsolate man goes to a village near the town, though not within the bills of mortality, and finding an empty house there, inquires out the owner, and took the

house. After a few days, he got a cart, and loaded it with goods, and carries them down to the house; the people of the village opposed his driving the cart along, but with some arguings, and some force, the men that drove the cart along, got through the street up to the door of the house; there the constable resisted them again, and would not let them be brought in. The man caused the goods to be unloaded and laid at the door, and sent the cart away, upon which they carried the man before a justice of peace; that is to say, they commanded him to go, which he did. The justice ordered him to cause the cart to fetch away the goods again, which he refused to do; upon which the justice ordered the constable to pursue the carters and fetch them back, and make them reload the goods and carry them away, or to set them in the stocks till they came for further orders; and if they could not find them, nor the man would consent to carry them away, they should cause them to be drawn with hooks from the house door and burnt in the street. The poor distressed man upon this fetched the goods again, but with grievous cries and lamentations at the hardship of his case. But there was no remedy, self-preservation obliged the people to those severities, which they would no otherwise have been concerned in. Whether this poor man lived or died I cannot tell, but it was reported he had the plague upon him at that time, and perhaps the people might report that to justify their usage of him; but it was not unlikely that either he or his goods, or both, were dangerous, when his whole family had been dead of the distemper so little a while before.

A house in Whitechapel was shut up for the sake of one infected maid, who had only spots, not the tokens, come out upon her, and recovered;

these people obtained no liberty to stir, neither for air or exercise, for forty days; want of breath, fear, anger, vexation, and all the other griefs attending such an injurious treatment, cast the mistress of the family into a fever; and visiters came into the house and said it was the plague, though the physicians declared it was not; however, the family were obliged to begin their quarantine anew, on the report of the visiter or examiner, though their former quarantine wanted but a few days of being finished. This oppressed them so with anger and grief, and, as before, straitened them also so much as to room, and for want of breathing and free air, that most of the family fell sick, one of one distemper, one of another, chiefly scorbutic ailments, only one a violent cholic, until after several prolongations of their confinement, some or other of those that came in with the visiters to inspect the persons that were ill, in hopes of releasing them, brought the distemper along with them, and infected the whole house, and all or most of them died, not of the plague as really upon them before, but of the plague that those people brought them, who should have been careful to have protected them from it; and this was a thing which frequently happened, and was, indeed, one of the worst consequences of shutting houses up.

I had about this time a little hardship put upon me, which I was at first greatly afflicted at, and very much disturbed about; though, as it proved, it did not expose me to any disaster; and this was, being appointed, by the alderman of Portsoken ward, one of the examiners of the houses in the precinct where I lived; we had a large parish, and had no less than eighteen examiners, as the order called us; the people called us visiters. I endeavoured with all my might to be excused from

such an employment, and used many arguments with the alderman's deputy to be excused; particularly, I alleged, that I was against shutting up of houses at all, and that it would be very hard to oblige me to be an instrument in that which was against my judgment, and which I did verily believe would not answer the end it was intended for; but all the abatement I could get was only, that whereas the officer was appointed by my lord mayor to continue two months, I should be obliged to hold it but for three weeks, on condition, nevertheless, that I could then get some other sufficient housekeeper to serve the rest of the time for me, which was, in short, but a very small favour, it being very difficult to get any man to accept of such an employment, that was fit to be intrusted with it.

It is true, that shutting up of houses had one effect, which I am sensible was of moment, namely, it confined the distempered people, who would otherwise have been very troublesome and very dangerous in their running about the streets with the distemper upon them; which, when they were delirious, they would have done in a most frightful manner, as, indeed, they began to do at first very much, until they were restrained; nay, so very open they were, that the poor would go about and beg at people's doors, and say they had the plague upon them, and beg rags for their sores, or both, or anything that delirious nature happened to think of.

A poor unhappy gentlewoman, a substantial citizen's wife, was, if the story be true, murdered by one of these creatures in Aldersgate-street, or that way. He was going along the street, raving mad to be sure, and singing; the people only said he was drunk, but he himself said he had the plague

upon him, which, it seems, was true; and meeting this gentlewoman, he would kiss her; she was terribly frighted, as he was a rude fellow, and she run from him; but the street being very thin of people, there was nobody near enough to help her. When she saw he would overtake her, she turned and gave him a thrust so forcibly, he being but weak, as pushed him down backward; but very unhappily, she being so near, he caught hold of her, and pulled her down also; and getting up first, mastered her, and kissed her; and which was worst of all, when he had done, told her he had the plague, and why should she not have it as well as he? She was frightened enough before, being also young with child; but when she heard him say he had the plague, she screamed out and fell down into a swoon, or in a fit, which, though she recovered a little, yet killed her in a very few days, and I never heard whether she had the plague or no.

Another infected person came and knocked at the door of a citizen's house, where they knew him very well; the servant let him in, and being told the master of the house was above, he ran up, and came into the room to them as the whole family were at supper. They began to rise up a little surprised, not knowing what the matter was; but he bid them sit still, he only came to take his leave of them. They asked him, Why Mr. —— where are you going? Going, says he, I have got the sickness, and shall die to-morrow night. It is easy to believe, though not to describe, the consternation they were all in; the women and the man's daughters, which were but little girls, were frightened almost to death, and got up, all running out, one at one door and one at another, some down stairs and some up stairs, and getting together as well as they could, locked themselves into their chambers, and

screamed out at the window for help, as if they had been frighted out of their wits. The master, more composed than they, though both frighted and provoked, was going to lay hands on him and throw him down stairs, being in a passion; but then considering a little the condition of the man, and the danger of touching him, horror seized his mind, and he stood still like one astonished. The poor distempered man, all this while, being, as well, diseased in his brain as in his body, stood still like one amazed; at length he turns round, Ay! says he, with all the seeming calmness imaginable, is it so with you all! Are you all disturbed at me? Why then I'll e'en go home and die there. And so he goes immediately down stairs. The servant that had let him in goes down after him with a candle, but was afraid to go past him and open the door, so he stood on the stairs to see what he would do; the man went and opened the door, and went out and flung the door after him. It was some while before the family recovered their fright; but, as no ill consequence attended, they have had occasion since to speak of it, you may be sure, with great satisfaction; though the man was gone some time, nay, as I heard, some days, before they recovered themselves from the hurry they were in: nor did they go up and down the house with any assurance till they had burnt a great variety of fumes and perfumes in all the rooms, and made a great many smokes of pitch, of gunpowder, and of sulphur; all separately shifted, and washed their clothes and the like. As to the poor man, whether he lived or died I do not remember.

It is most certain, that if, by the shutting up of houses, the sick had not been confined, multitudes, who in the height of their fever were delirious and distracted, would have been continually running up

and down the streets; and, even as it was, a very great number did so, and offered all sorts of violence to those they met, even just as a mad dog runs on and bites at every one he meets; nor can I doubt but that should one of those infected diseased creatures have bitten any man or woman, while the frenzy of the distemper was upon them, they, I mean the person so wounded, would as certainly have been incurably infected, as one that was sick before, and had the tokens upon him.

I heard of one infected creature, who running out of his bed in his shirt, in the anguish and agony of his swellings, of which he had three upon him, got his shoes on and went to put on his coat, but the nurse resisting and snatching the coat from him, he threw her down, run over her, run down stairs, and into the street directly to the Thames, in his shirt, the nurse running after him, and calling to the watch to stop him; but the watchman, frightened at the man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on; upon which he ran down to the Still-yard stairs, threw away his shirt, and plunged into the Thames, and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the river; and the tide being coming in, as they call it, that is, running westward, he reached the land not till he came about the Falcon-stairs, where landing, and finding no people there, it being in the night, he ran about the streets there naked as he was, for a good while, when, it being by that time high water, he takes the river again, and swam back to the Still-yard, landed, ran up the streets again to his own house, knocking at the door, went up the stairs, and into bed again; and that this terrible experiment cured him of the plague, that is to say, that the violent motion of his arms and legs stretched the parts where the swellings he had upon him were, that is to say, under his arms and in his

groin, and caused them to ripen and break; and that the cold of the water abated the fever in his blood.

But notwithstanding such things, the murmurings were very bitter against the shutting up.

It would pierce the hearts of all that came by to hear the piteous cries of those infected people, who, being thus out of their understandings by the violence of their pain, or the heat of their blood, were either shut in, or perhaps tied in their beds and chairs, to prevent their doing themselves hurt, and who would make a dreadful outcry at their being confined, and at their being not permitted to die at large, as they called it, and as they would have done before.

This running of distempered people about the streets was very dismal, and the magistrates did their utmost to prevent it; but, as it was generally in the night and always sudden, when such attempts were made, the officers could not be at hand to prevent it; and, even when any got out in the day, the officers appointed did not care to meddle with them, because, as they were all grievously infected to be sure when they were come to that height, so they were more than ordinarily infectious, and it was one of the most dangerous things that could be to touch them; on the other hand, they generally ran on, not knowing what they did, till they dropped down stark dead, or till they had exhausted their spirits so, as that they would fall and then die in perhaps half an hour or an hour; and which was most piteous to hear, they were sure to come to themselves entirely in that half hour or hour, and then to make most grievous and piercing cries and lamentations, in the deep afflicting sense of the condition they were in. This was much of it before the order for shutting up of houses was strictly put into execution; for, at first, the watchmen were not

so vigorous and severe as they were afterwards in the keeping the people in; that is to say, before they were, I mean some of them, severely punished for their neglect, failing in their duty, and letting people who were under their care slip away, or conniving at their going abroad, whether sick or well. But, after they saw the officers appointed to examine into their conduct were resolved to have them do their duty, or be punished for the omission, they were more exact, and the people were strictly restrained; which was a thing they took so ill, and bore so impatiently, that their discontents can hardly be described; but there was an absolute necessity for it, that must be confessed, unless some other measures had been timely entered upon; and it was too late for that.

Had not this particular of the sick's being restrained as above, been our case at that time, London would have been the most dreadful place that ever was in the world; there would, for aught I know, have as many people died in the streets as died in their houses; for, when the distemper was at its height, it generally made them raving and delirious, and when they were so, they would never be persuaded to keep in their beds but by force; and many who were not tied, threw themselves out of windows, when they found they could not get leave to go out of their doors.

It was for want of people conversing one with another in this time of calamity, that it was impossible any particular person could come at the knowledge of all the extraordinary cases that occurred in different families; and, particularly, I believe it was never known to this day how many people in their deliriums drowned themselves in the Thames, and in the river which runs from the marshes by Hackney, which we generally called

Ware river, or Hackney river. As to those which were set down in the weekly bill, they were indeed few, nor could it be known of any of those, whether they drowned themselves by accident or not; but I believe I might reckon up more, who, within the compass of my knowledge or observation, really drowned themselves in that year, than are put down in the bill of all put together, for many of the bodies were never found, who yet were known to be lost; and the like in other methods of self-destruction. There was also one man in or about White-cross-street burnt himself to death in his bed; some said it was done by himself, others, that it was by the treachery of the nurse that attended him, but that he had the plague upon him was agreed by all.

I got myself discharged of the dangerous office I was in, as soon as I could get another admitted, who I had obtained for a little money to accept of it; and so, instead of serving the two months, which was directed, I was not above three weeks in it; and a great while too, considering it was in the month of August, at which time the distemper began to rage with great violence at our end of the town.

In the execution of this office, I could not refrain speaking my opinion among my neighbours, as to this shutting up the people in their houses; in which we saw most evidently the severities that were used, though grievous in themselves, had also this particular objection against them, namely, that they did not answer the end, as I have said, but that the distempered people went, day by day, about the streets; and it was our united opinion, that a method to have removed the sound from the sick, in case of a particular house being visited, would have been much more reasonable, on many accounts, leaving nobody with the sick persons, but

such as should, on such occasions, request to stay, and declare themselves content to be shut up with them.

Our scheme for removing those that were sound from those that were sick, was only in such houses as were infected, and confining the sick was no confinement; those that could not stir would not complain while they were in their senses, and while they had the power of judging. Indeed, when they came to be delirious and light-headed, then they would cry out of the cruelty of being confined; but, for the removal of those that were well, we thought it highly reasonable and just, for their own sakes, they should be removed from the sick, and that, for other people's safety, they should keep retired for awhile, to see that they were sound, and might not infect others; and we thought twenty or thirty days enough for this.

Now, certainly, if houses had been provided on purpose for those that were sound, to perform this demi-quarantine in, they would have much less reason to think themselves injured in such a restraint, than in being confined with infected people in the houses where they lived.

It is here, however, to be observed, that after the funerals became so many that people could not toll the bell, mourn, or weep, or wear black for one another, as they did before; no, nor so much as make coffins for those that died; so, after a while, the fury of the infection appeared to be so increased, that, in short, they shut up no houses at all; it seemed enough that all the remedies of that kind had been used till they were found fruitless, and that the plague spread itself with an irresistible fury, so that as the fire the succeeding year spread itself and burnt with such violence, that the citizens, in despair, gave over their endeavours to ex-

tinguish it, so in the plague, it came at last to such violence, that the people sat still looking at one another, and seemed quite abandoned to despair. Whole streets seemed to be desolated, and not to be shut up only, but to be emptied of their inhabitants; doors were left open, windows stood shattering with the wind in empty houses, for want of people to shut them; in a word, people began to give up themselves to their fears, and so think that all regulations and methods were in vain, and that there was nothing to be hoped for but an universal desolation; and it was even in the height of this general despair, that it pleased God to stay his hand, and to slacken the fury of the contagion, in such a manner as was even surprising, like its beginning, and demonstrated it to be his own particular hand; and that above, if not without, the agency of means, as I shall take notice of in its proper place.

But I must still speak of the plague, as in its height, raging even to desolation, and the people under the most dreadful consternation, even, as I have said, to despair. It is hardly credible to what excesses the passions of men carried them in this extremity of the distemper; and this part, I think, was as moving as the rest. What could affect a man in his full power of reflection, and what could make deeper impressions on the soul, than to see a man, almost naked, and got out of his house, or perhaps out of his bed into the street, come out of Harrow-alley, a populous conjunction or collection of alleys, courts, and passages, in the Butcher-row in Whitechapel; I say, what could be more affecting, than to see this poor man come out into the open street, run dancing and singing, and making a thousand antic gestures, with five or six women and children running after him, crying and calling

upon him, for the Lord's sake, to come back, and entreating the help of others to bring him back, but all in vain, nobody daring to lay a hand upon him, or to come near him.

This was a most grievous and afflicting thing to me, who saw it all from my own windows; for all this while the poor afflicted man was, as I observed it, even then in the utmost agony of pain, having, as they said, two swellings upon him, which could not be brought to break or to suppurate; but by laying strong caustics on them, the surgeons had, it seems, hopes to break them, which caustics were then upon him, burning his flesh as with a hot iron. I cannot say what became of this poor man, but I think he continued roving about in that manner till he fell down and died.

No wonder the aspect of the city itself was frightful! the usual concourse of people in the streets, and which used to be supplied from our end of the town, was abated; the Exchange was not kept shut indeed, but it was no more frequented; the fires were lost; they had been almost extinguished for some days, by a very smart and hasty rain; but this was not all, some of the physicians insisted, that they were not only no benefit, but injurious to the health of the people. This they made a loud clamour about, and complained to the lord mayor about it. On the other hand, others of the same faculty, and eminent too, opposed them, and gave their reasons why the fires were, and must be, useful, to assuage the violence of the distemper. I cannot give a full account of their arguments on both sides; only this I remember, that they cavilled very much with one another. Some were for fires, but that they must be made of wood, and not coal, and of particular sorts of wood too, such as fir in particular, or cedar, because of the strong effluvia

of turpentine; others were for coal and not wood, because of the sulphur and bitumen; and others were neither for one or other. Upon the whole, the lord mayor ordered no more fires; and especially on this account, namely, that the plague was so fierce, that they saw evidently it defied all means, and rather seemed to increase than decrease, upon any application to check and abate it; and yet this amazement of the magistrates proceeded rather from want of being able to apply any means successfully, than from any unwillingness, either to expose themselves, or undertake the care and weight of business, for, to do them justice, they neither spared their pains nor their persons; but nothing answered, the infection raged, and the people were now frighted and terrified to the last degree; so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and as I mentioned above, abandoned themselves to their despair.

But let me observe here, that, when I say the people abandoned themselves to despair, I do not mean to what men call a religious despair, or a despair of their eternal state; but I mean a despair of their being able to escape the infection, or to outlive the plague, which they saw was so raging and so irresistible in its force, that indeed few people that were touched with it in its height, about August and September, escaped; and, which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary operation in June and July, and the beginning of August, when, as I have observed, many were infected, and continued so many days, and then went off, after having had the poison in their blood a long time; but now, on the contrary, most of the people who were taken during the two last weeks in August, and in the three first weeks in September, generally died in two or three days at furthest, and

many the very same day they were taken. Whether the dog-days, or, as our astrologers pretended to express themselves, the influence of the dog-star had that malignant effect, or all those who had the seeds of infection before in them, brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether, I know not; but this was the time when it was reported, that above three thousand people died in one night; and they that would have us believe they more critically observed it, pretend to say, that they all died within the space of two hours; viz. between the hours of one and three in the morning.

As to the suddenness of people's dying at this time, more than before, there were innumerable instances of it, and I could name several in my neighbourhood; one family without the bars, and not far from me, were all seemingly well on the Monday, being ten in family; that evening, one maid and one apprentice were taken ill, and died the next morning, when the other apprentice and two children were touched, whereof one died the same evening, and the other two on Wednesday; in a word, by Saturday at noon, the master, mistress, four children, and four servants, were all gone, and the house left entirely empty, except an ancient woman, who came in to take charge of the goods for the master of the family's brother, who lived not far off, and who had not been sick.

Many houses were then left desolate, all the people being carried away dead, and especially in an alley further on the same side beyond the bars, going in at the sign of Moses and Aaron. There were several houses together, which they said had not one person left alive in them; and some that died last in several of those houses, were left a little too long before they were fetched out to be buried; the reason of which was not, as some have written,

very untruly, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, but that the mortality was so great in the yard or alley, that there was nobody left to give notice to the buriers or sextons that there were any dead bodies there to be buried. It was said, how true I know not, that some of those bodies were so corrupted and so rotten, that it was with difficulty they were carried; and, as the carts could not come any nearer than to the alley gate in the High-street, it was so much the more difficult to bring them along; but I am not certain how many bodies were then left. I am sure that ordinarily it was not so.

I must acknowledge that this time was so terrible that I was sometimes at the end of all my resolutions, and that I had not the courage that I had at the beginning. As the extremity brought other people abroad, it drove me home, and, except having made my voyage down to Blackwall and Greenwich, as I have related, which was an excursion, I kept afterwards very much within doors, as I had for about a fortnight before. I have said already, that I repented several times that I had ventured to stay in town, and had not gone away with my brother and his family, but it was too late now; and after I had retreated and stayed within doors a good while before my impatience led me abroad, then they called me, as I have said, to an ugly and dangerous office, which brought me out again; but as that was expired, while the height of the distemper lasted, I retired again, and continued close ten or twelve days more, during which many dismal spectacles represented themselves to my view, out of my own windows, and in our own street, as that particularly from Harrow-alley, of the poor outrageous creature who danced and sung in his agony; and many others there were. Scarce a day or a night passed over but some dismal thing or other happened at the end

of that Harrow-alley, which was a place full of poor people, most of them belonging to the butchers, or to employments depending upon the butchery.

Sometimes heaps and throngs of people would burst out of the alley, most of them women, making a dreadful clamour, mixed or compounded of screeches, cryings, and calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it; almost all the dead part of the night the dead cart stood at the end of that alley, for if it went in, it could not well turn again, and could go in but a little way. There, I say, it stood to receive dead bodies; and, as the church was but a little way off, if it went away full it would soon be back again. It is impossible to describe the most horrible cries and noise the poor people would make at their bringing the dead bodies of their children and friends out to the cart; and, by the number, one would have thought there had been none left behind, or that there were people enough for a small city living in those places. Several times they cried murder, sometimes fire; but it was easy to perceive that it was all distraction, and the complaints of distressed and distempered people.

I believe it was everywhere thus at that time, for the plague raged for six or seven weeks beyond all that I have expressed, and came even to such a height, that, in the extremity, they began to break into that excellent order, of which I have spoken so much in behalf of the magistrates, namely, that no dead bodies were seen in the streets, or burials in the daytime; for there was a necessity, in this extremity, to bear with its being otherwise for a little while.

One thing I cannot omit here, and, indeed, I thought it was extraordinary, at least it seemed a remarkable hand of divine justice; viz. that all the

predictors, astrologers, fortune-tellers, and what they called cunning men, conjurors, and the like; calculators of nativities, and dreamers of dreams, and such people, were gone and vanished, not one of them was to be found. I am verily persuaded, that a great number of them fell in the heat of the calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great estates; and, indeed, their gain was but too great for a time, through the madness and folly of the people; but now they were silent, many of them went to their long home, not able to foretell their own fate, or to calculate their own nativities. Some have been critical enough to say, that every one of them died. I dare not affirm that; but this I must own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appeared after the calamity was over.

But to return to my particular observations, during this dreadful part of the visitation. I am now come, as I have said, to the month of September, which was the most dreadful of its kind, I believe, that ever London saw; for, by all the accounts which I have seen of the preceding visitations which have been in London, nothing has been like it; the number in the weekly bill amounting to almost forty thousand, from the 22nd of August to the 26th of September, being but five weeks. The particulars of the bills are as follows; viz.

From August the 22nd to the 29th	7,496
To the 5th of September	8,252
To the 12th	7,690
To the 19th	8,297
To the 26th	6,460
	38,195

This was a prodigious number of itself; but if I should add the reasons which I have to believe, that

this account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would with me make no scruple to believe, that there died above ten thousand a week for all those weeks, one week with another, and a proportion for several weeks, both before and after. The confusion among the people, especially within the city, at that time, was inexpressible; the terror was so great at last, that the courage of the people appointed to carry away the dead began to fail them; nay, several of them died, although they had the distemper before, and were recovered; and some of them dropped down when they have been carrying the bodies even at the pitside, and just ready to throw them in; and this confusion was greater in the city, because they had flattered themselves with hopes of escaping, and thought the bitterness of death was past. One cart they told us, going up Shoreditch, was forsaken by the drivers, or being left to one man to drive, he died in the street, and the horses going on, overthrew the cart, and left the bodies, some thrown here, some there, in a dismal manner. Another cart was, it seems, found in the great pit in Finsbury-fields; the driver being dead, or having been gone and abandoned it, and the horses running too near it, the cart fell in and drew the horses in also. It was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and that the cart fell upon him, by reason his whip was seen to be in the pit among the bodies; but that, I suppose, could not be certain.

In our parish of Aldgate, the dead carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the churchyard gate, full of dead bodies; but neither bellman or driver, or any one else with it. Neither in these, or many other cases, did they know what bodies they had in their cart, for sometimes they were let down with ropes out of balconies and out of windows; and sometimes the bearers brought

them to the cart, sometimes other people; nor, as the men themselves said, did they trouble themselves to keep any account of the numbers.

The vigilance of the magistrate was now put to the utmost trial; and, it must be confessed, can never be enough acknowledged on this occasion; also, whatever expense or trouble they were at, two things were never neglected in the city or suburbs either.

1. Provisions were always to be had in full plenty, and the price not much raised neither, hardly worth speaking.

2. No dead bodies lay unburied or uncovered; and if one walked from the one end of the city to another, no funeral or sign of it was to be seen in the daytime; except a little, as I have said, in the three first weeks in September.

This last article, perhaps, will hardly be believed, when some accounts which others have published since that, shall be seen; wherein they say, that the dead lay unburied, which I am sure was utterly false; at least, if it had been anywhere so, it must have been in houses where the living were gone from the dead, having found means, as I have observed, to escape, and where no notice was given to the officers. All which amounts to nothing at all in the case in hand; for this I am positive in, having been myself employed a little in the direction of that part in the parish in which I lived, and where as great a desolation was made, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as was anywhere. I say, I am sure that there were no dead bodies remained unburied; that is to say, none that the proper officers knew of, none for want of people to carry them off, and buriers to put them into the ground and cover them; and this is sufficient for the argument; for what might lie in houses and holes, as in

Moses and Aaron-alley, is nothing, for it is most certain they were buried as soon as they were found. As to the first article, namely, of provisions, the scarcity or dearness, though I have mentioned it before, and shall speak of it again, yet I must observe here,

(1.) The price of bread, in particular, was not raised; for, in the beginning of the year, viz. in the first week in March, the penny wheaten loaf was ten ounces and a half; and in the height of the contagion, it was to be had at nine ounces and a half, and never dearer, no, not all that season. And about the beginning of November, it was sold ten ounces and a half again; the like of which, I believe, was never heard of in any city, under so dreadful a visitation, before.

(2.) Neither was there, which I wondered much at, any want of bakers or ovens kept open to supply the people with bread; but this was indeed alleged by some families, viz. that their maid-servants going to the bakehouses with their dough to be baked, which was then the custom, sometimes came home with the sickness upon them, that is to say, the plague upon them.

In all this dreadful visitation, there were, as I have said before, but two pesthouses made use of, viz. one in the fields beyond Old-street, and one in Westminster; neither was there any compulsion used in carrying people thither. Indeed there was no need of compulsion in the case, for there were thousands of poor distressed people, who, having no help, or conveniences, or supplies, but of charity, would have been very glad to have been carried thither, and been taken care of, which, indeed, was the only thing that, I think, was wanting in the whole public management of the city; seeing nobody was here allowed to be brought to the

pesthouse, but where money was given, or security for money, either at their introducing, or upon their being cured and sent out; for many were sent out again whole, and very good physicians were appointed to those places, so that many people did very well there, of which I will make mention again. The principal sort of people sent thither were, as I have said, servants, who got the distemper by going of errands to fetch necessaries for the families where they lived; and who, in that case, if they came home sick, were removed, to preserve the rest of the house; and they were so well looked after there, in all the time of the visitation, that there was but 156 buried in all at the London pesthouse, and 159 at that of Westminster.

The magistrates wisely caused the people to be encouraged, made very good by-laws for the regulating the citizens, keeping good order in the streets, and making everything as eligible as possible to all sorts of people.

In the first place, the lord mayor and the sheriffs, the court of aldermen, and a certain number of the common-council men, or their deputies, came to a resolution, and published it, viz. that they would not quit the city themselves, but that they would be always at hand for the preserving good order in every place, and for doing justice on all occasions; as also for the distributing the public charity to the poor; and, in a word, for the doing the duty and discharging the trust reposed in them by the citizens, to the utmost of their power.

In pursuance of these orders, the lord mayor, sheriffs, &c., held councils every day, more or less, for making such dispositions as they found needful for preserving the civil peace; and though they used the people with all possible gentleness and

clemency, yet all manner of presumptuous rogues, such as thieves, housebreakers, plunderers of the dead or of the sick, were duly punished, and several declarations were continually published by the lord mayor and court of aldermen against such.

Also, all constables and churchwardens were enjoined to stay in the city upon severe penalties, or to depute such able and sufficient housekeepers as the deputy-aldermen, or common-council men of the precinct should approve, and for whom they should give security; and also security in case of mortality, that they would forthwith constitute other constables in their stead.

These things re-established the minds of the people very much; especially in the first of their fright, when they talked of making so universal a flight, that the city would have been in danger of being entirely deserted of its inhabitants, except the poor, and the country of being plundered and laid waste by the multitude. Nor were the magistrates deficient in performing their part as boldly as they promised it; for my lord mayor and the sheriffs were continually in the streets, and at places of the greatest danger; and though they did not care for having too great a resort of people crowding upon them, yet, in emergent cases, they never denied the people access to them, and heard with patience all their grievances and complaints; my lord had a low gallery, built on purpose in his hall, where he stood, a little removed from the crowd, when any complaint came to be heard, that he might appear with as much safety as possible.

Likewise, the proper officers, called my lord mayor's officers, constantly attended in their turns, as they were in waiting; and if any of them were sick or infected, as some of them were, others were

instantly employed to fill up and officiate in their places, till it was known whether the other should live or die.

In like manner the sheriffs and aldermen did, in their several stations and wards, where they were placed by office, and the sheriff's officers or serjeants were appointed to receive orders from the respective aldermen in their turn; so that justice was executed in all cases without interruption. In the next place, it was one of their particular cares to see the orders for the freedom of the markets observed; and in this part, either the lord mayor, or one or both of the sheriffs, were every market-day on horseback to see their orders executed, and to see that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in their coming to the markets, and going back again; and that no nuisance or frightful object should be seen in the streets to terrify them, or make them unwilling to come. Also, the bakers were taken under particular order, and the master of the Bakers' Company was, with his court of assistants, directed to see the order of my lord mayor for their regulation put in execution, and the due assize of bread, which was weekly appointed by my lord mayor, observed; and all the bakers were obliged to keep their ovens going constantly, on pain of losing the privileges of freeman of the city of London.

By this means, bread was always to be had in plenty, and as cheap as usual, as I said above; and provisions were never wanting in the markets, even to such a degree that I often wondered at it, and reproached myself with being so timorous and cautious in stirring abroad, when the country people came freely and boldly to market, as if there had been no manner of infection in the city, or danger of catching it.

It was, indeed, one admirable piece of conduct in the said magistrates, that the streets were kept constantly clear and free from all manner of frightful objects, dead bodies, or any such things as were indecent or unpleasant; unless where anybody fell down suddenly, or died in the streets, as I have said above, and these were generally covered with some cloth or blanket, or removed into the next churchyard till night. All the needful works that carried terror with them, that were both dismal and dangerous, were done in the night; if any diseased bodies were removed, or dead bodies buried, or infected clothes burnt, it was done in the night; and all the bodies which were thrown into the great pits in the several churchyards or burying-grounds, as has been observed, were so removed in the night; and everything was covered and closed before day. So that in the daytime, there was not the least signal of the calamity to be seen or heard of, except what was to be observed from the emptiness of the streets, and sometimes from the passionate cries and lamentations of the people, out at their windows, and from the numbers of houses and shops shut up.

Nor was the silence and emptiness of the streets so much in the city as in the out-parts; except just at one particular time, when, as I have mentioned, the plague came east, and spread over all the city. It was indeed a merciful disposition of God, that as the plague began at one end of the town first, as has been observed at large, so it proceeded progressively to other parts, and did not come on this way, or eastward, till it had spent its fury in the west part of the town; and so as it come on one way, it abated another.

And here let me take leave to enter again, though it may seem a repetition of circumstances,

into a description of the miserable condition of the city itself, and of those parts where I lived, at this particular time. The city, and those other parts, notwithstanding the great numbers of people that were gone into the country, was vastly full of people; and perhaps the fuller, because people had, for a long time, a strong belief that the plague would not come into the city, nor into Southwark, no, nor into Wapping or Ratcliff at all; nay, such was the assurance of the people on that head, that many removed from the suburbs on the west and north sides, into those eastern and south sides as for safety, and, as I verily believe, carried the plague amongst them there, perhaps sooner than they would otherwise have had it.

Here, also, I ought to leave a further remark for the use of posterity, concerning the manner of people's infecting one another; namely, that it was not the sick people only from whom the plague was immediately received by others that were sound, but the well. To explain myself; by the sick people, I mean those that were known to be sick, had taken their beds, had been under cure, or had swellings or tumours upon them, and the like; these everybody could beware of, they were either in their beds, or in such condition as could not be concealed.

By the well, I mean such as had received the contagion, and had it really upon them, and in their blood, yet did not show the consequences of it in their countenances; nay, even were not sensible of it themselves, as many were not for several days. These breathed death in every place, and upon everybody who came near them; nay, their very clothes retained the infection, their hands would infect the things they touched, especially if they

were warm and sweaty; and they were generally apt to sweat too.

Now it was impossible to know these people, nor did they sometimes, as I have said, know themselves to be infected. These were the people that dropt down and fainted in the streets; for oftentimes they would go about the streets to the last, till on a sudden they would sweat, grow faint, sit down at a door, and die. It is true, finding themselves thus, they would struggle hard to get home to their own doors, or, at other times, would be just able to go into their houses, and die instantly; other times they would go about till they had the very tokens come out upon them, and yet not know it, and would die in an hour or two after they came home, but be well as long as they were abroad. These were the dangerous people, these were the people of whom the well people ought to have been afraid; but then, on the other side, it was impossible to know them.

Many persons, in the time of this visitation, never perceived that they were infected, till they found, to their unspeakable surprise, the tokens come out upon them, after which they seldom lived six hours; for those spots they called the tokens were really gangrene spots, or mortified flesh, in small knobs as broad as a little silver penny, and hard as a piece of callus or horn; so that when the disease was come up to that length, there was nothing could follow but certain death; and yet, as I said, they knew nothing of their being infected, nor found themselves so much as out of order, till those mortal marks were upon them. But everybody must allow that they were infected in a high degree before, and must have been so some time; and, consequently, their breath, their sweat, their

very clothes were contagious for many days before.

This occasioned a vast variety of cases, which physicians would have much more opportunity to remember than I; but some came within the compass of my observation, or hearing, of which I shall name a few.

A certain citizen, who had lived safe and untouched till the month of September, when the weight of the distemper lay more in the city than it had done before, was mighty cheerful, and something too bold, as I think it was, in his talk of how secure he was, how cautious he had been, and how he had never come near any sick body. Says another citizen, a neighbour of his, to him, one day, Do not be too confident, Mr. ——; it is hard to say who is sick and who is well; for we see men alive and well to outward appearance one hour, and dead the next. That is true, says the first man, (for he was not a man presumptuously secure, but had escaped a long while; and men, as I said above, especially in the city, began to be over-easy upon that score): That is true, says he, I do not think myself secure, but I hope I have not been in company with any person that there has been any danger in. No! says his neighbour; was not you at the Bull-head tavern in Gracechurch-street, with Mr. ——, the night before last? Yes, says the first, I was, but there was nobody there that we had any reason to think dangerous. Upon which his neighbour said no more, being unwilling to surprise him; but this made him more inquisitive, and, as his neighbour appeared backward, he was the more impatient; and, in a kind of warmth, says he aloud, Why, he is not dead, is he? Upon which his neighbour still was silent, but cast up his eyes, and said something to himself; at which the first citizen

turned pale, and said no more than this, Then I am a dead man too! and went home immediately, and sent for a neighbouring apothecary to give him something preventive, for he had not yet found himself ill; but the apothecary opening his breast, fetched a sigh, and said no more than this, Look up to God; and the man died in a few hours.

The plague, like a great fire if a few houses only are contiguous where it happens, can only burn a few houses; or if it begins in a single, or, as we call it, a lone house, can only burn that lone house where it begins. But if it begins in a close town or city, and gets ahead, there its fury increases, it rages over the whole place, and consumes all it can reach.

It is true, hundreds, yea thousands, of families fled away at this last plague; but then of them many fled too late, and not only died in their flight, but carried the distemper with them into the countries where they went, and infected those whom they went among for safety; which confounded the thing, and made that be a propagation of the distemper which was the best means to prevent it; and this too, is evident of it, and brings me back to what I only hinted at before, but must speak more fully to here; namely, that men went about apparently well, many days after they had the taint of the disease in their vitals, and after their spirits were so seized as that they could never escape it; and that all the while they did so they were dangerous to others; I say, this proves that so it was; for such people infected the very towns they went through, as well as the families they went among. And it was by that means that almost all the great towns in England had the distemper among them, more or less; and always they would tell you such a Londoner or such a Londoner brought it down.

It must not be omitted, that when I speak of those people who were really thus dangerous, I suppose them to be utterly ignorant of their own condition; for if they really knew their circumstances to be such as indeed they were, they must have been a kind of wilful murderers, if they would have gone abroad among healthy people, and it would have verified the suggestion which I mentioned above, and which I thought untrue, viz., that the infected people were utterly careless as to giving the infection to others, and rather forward to do it than not; and I believe it was partly from this very thing that they raised that suggestion, which I hope was not really true in fact.

I confess no particular case is sufficient to prove a general, but I could name several people within the knowledge of some of their neighbours and families yet living, who showed the contrary to an extreme. One man, a master of a family in my neighbourhood, having had the distemper, he thought he had it given him by a poor workman whom he employed, and whom he went to his house to see, or went for some work that he wanted to have finished; and he had some apprehensions even while he was at the poor workman's door, but did not discover it fully, but the next day it discovered itself, and he was taken very ill; upon which he immediately caused himself to be carried into an outbuilding which he had in his yard, and where there was a chamber over a workhouse, the man being a brazier. Here he lay, and here he died; and would be tended by none of his neighbours, but by a nurse from abroad; and would not suffer his wife, nor children, nor servants, to come up into the room, lest they should be infected, but sent them his blessing and prayers for them by the nurse, who spoke it to them at distance; and all this for fear

of giving them the distemper, and without which, he knew, as they were kept up, they could not have it.

And here I must observe also that the plague, as I suppose all distempers do, operated in a different manner on different constitutions. Some were immediately overwhelmed with it, and it came to violent fevers, vomitings, insufferable headaches, pains in the back; and so up to ravings and ragings with those pains: others with swellings and tumours in the neck and groin, or armpits, which, till they could be broke, put them into insufferable agonies and torment; while others, as I have observed, were silently infected, the fever preying upon their spirits insensibly, and they seeing little of it till they fell into swooning, and faintings, and death without pain.

I am not physician enough to enter into the particular reasons and manner of these differing effects of one and the same distemper, and of its differing operation in several bodies; nor is it my business here to record the observations which I really made, because the doctors themselves have done that part much more effectually than I can do, and because my opinion may, in some things, differ from theirs. I am only relating what I know, or have heard, or believe of the particular cases, and what fell within the compass of my view, and the different nature of the infection, as it appeared in the particular cases which I have related; but this may be added, too, that though the former sort of those cases, namely, those openly visited, were the worst for themselves as to pain, I mean those that had such fevers, vomitings, headaches, pains, and swellings, because they died in such a dreadful manner; yet the latter had the worst state of the disease, for in the former they frequently recover-

ed, especially if the swellings broke ; but the latter was inevitable death, no cure, no help could be possible, nothing could follow but death ; and it was worse also to others, because, as above, it secretly, and unperceived by others or by themselves, communicated death to those they conversed with, the penetrating poison insinuating itself into their blood in a manner which it was impossible to describe, or indeed conceive.

This infecting and being infected, without so much as its being known to either person, is evident from two sorts of cases, which frequently happened at that time ; and there is hardly anybody living, who was in London during the infection, but must have known several of the cases of both sorts.

1. Fathers and mothers have gone about as if they had been well, and have believed themselves to be so, till they have insensibly infected and been the destruction of their whole families ; which they would have been far from doing, if they had had the least apprehensions of their being dangerous themselves. A family, whose story I have heard, was thus infected by the father, and the distemper began to appear upon some of them even before he found it upon himself; but searching more narrowly, it appeared he had been affected some time, and as soon as he found that his family had been poisoned by himself, he went distracted, and would have laid violent hands upon himself, but was kept from that by those who looked to him, and in a few days died.

2. The other particular is, that many people having been well to the best of their own judgment, or by the best observation which they could make of themselves for several days, and only finding a decay of appetite, or a light sickness upon their

stomachs; nay, some whose appetite has been strong, and even craving, and only a light pain in their heads, have sent for physicians to know what ailed them, and have been found, to their great surprise, at the brink of death, the tokens upon them, or the plague grown up to an incurable height.

It was very sad to reflect, how such a person as this last mentioned above, had been a walking destroyer, perhaps for a week or fortnight before that; how he had ruined those that he would have hazarded his life to save; and had been breathing death upon them, even perhaps in his tender kissing and embracings of his own children. Yet thus certainly it was, and often has been, and I could give many particular cases where it has been so. If then the blow is thus insensibly striking; if the arrow flies thus unseen, and cannot be discovered; to what purpose are all the schemes for shutting up or removing the sick people? Those schemes cannot take place but upon those that appear to be sick, or to be infected; whereas there are among them, at the same time, thousands of people who seem to be well, but are all that while carrying death with them into all companies which they come into.

This frequently puzzled our physicians, and especially the apothecaries and surgeons, who knew not how to discover the sick from the sound. They all allowed that it was really so; that many people had the plague in their very blood, and preying upon their spirits, and were in themselves but walking putrefied carcases, whose breath was infectious, and their sweat poison, and yet were as well to look on as other people, and even knew it not themselves; I say, they all allowed that it was really true in fact, but they knew not how to propose a discovery.

My friend Dr. Heath was of opinion, that it might be known by the smell of their breath; but then, as

he said, who durst smell to that breath for his information? since, to know it, he must draw the stench of the plague up into his own brain, in order to distinguish the smell! I have heard, it was the opinion of others, that it might be distinguished by the party's breathing upon a piece of glass, where, the breath condensing, there might living creatures be seen, by a microscope, of strange, monstrous, and frightful shapes, such as dragons, snakes, serpents, and devils, horrible to behold. But this I very much question the truth of; and we had no microscopes at that time, as I remember, to make the experiment with.

It was the opinion also of another learned man, that the breath of such a person would poison and instantly kill a small bird; not only a small bird, but even a cock or hen; and that, if it did not immediately kill the latter, it would cause them to be roupy, as they call it; particularly that if they had laid any eggs at that time, they would be all rotten. But those are opinions which I never found supported by any experiments, or heard of others that had seen it; so I leave them as I find them, only with this remark, namely, that I think the probabilities are very strong for them.

Some have proposed that such persons should breathe hard upon warm water, and that they would leave an unusual scum upon it, or upon several other things; especially such as are of a glutinous substance, and are apt to receive a scum, and support it.

But, from the whole, I found that the nature of this contagion was such, that it was impossible to discover it at all, or to prevent it spreading from one to another by any human skill.

Great were the confusions at that time upon this very account; and when people began to be con-

vinced, that the infection was received in this surprising manner from persons apparently well, they began to be exceeding shy and jealous of every one that came near them. Once, in a public day, whether a sabbath day or not, I do not remember, in Aldgate church, in a pew full of people, on a sudden one fancied she smelt an ill smell; immediately she fancies the plague was in the pew, whispers her notion or suspicion to the next, then rises and goes out of the pew; it immediately took with the next, and so with them all, and every one of them and of the two adjoining pews, got up and went out of the church, nobody knowing what it was offended them, or from whom.

This immediately filled everybody's mouths with one preparation or other, such as the old women directed, and some perhaps as physicians directed, in order to prevent infection by the breath of others; insomuch, that if we came to go into a church, when it was anything full of people, there would be such a mixture of smells at the entrance, that it was much more strong, though perhaps not so wholesome, than if you were going into an apothecary's or druggist's shop. In a word, the whole church was like a smelling bottle; in one corner it was all perfumes, in another aromatics, balsamics, and variety of drugs and herbs; in another, salts and spirits, as every one was furnished for their own preservation; yet I observed, that after people were possessed, as I have said, with the belief, or rather assurance, of the infection being thus carried on by persons apparently in health, the churches and meeting-houses were much thinner of people than at other times, before that, they used to be; for this is to be said of the people of London, that, during the whole time of the pestilence, the churches or meetings were never wholly shut up, nor did the people decline

coming out to the public worship of God, except only in some parishes, when the violence of the distemper was more particularly in that parish at that time; and even then no longer than it continued to be so.

Indeed, nothing was more strange than to see with what courage the people went to the public service of God, even at that time when they were afraid to stir out of their own houses upon any other occasion; this I mean before the time of desperation which I have mentioned already. This was a proof of the exceeding populousness of the city at the time of the infection, notwithstanding the great numbers that were gone into the country at the first alarm, and that fled out into the forests and woods when they were further terrified with the extraordinary increase of it.

It must be acknowledged, that when people began to use these cautions, they were less exposed to danger, and the infection did not break into such houses so furiously as it did into others before, and thousands of families were preserved, speaking with due reserve to the direction of divine Providence, by that means.

But it was impossible to beat anything into the heads of the poor. They went on with the usual impetuosity of their tempers, full of outcries and lamentation when taken, but madly careless of themselves, foolhardy and obstinate, while they were well. Where they could get employment they pushed into any kind of business, the most dangerous and the most liable to infection; and, if they were spoken to, their answer would be, I must trust to God for that; if I am taken, then I am provided for, and there is an end of me; and the like. Or thus, Why what must I do? I cannot starve, I had as good have the plague as perish for want; I have

no work; what could I do? I must do this, or beg. Suppose it was burying the dead, or attending the sick, or watching infected houses, which were all terrible hazards; but their tale was generally the same. It is true, necessity was a very justifiable, warrantable plea, and nothing could be better; but their way of talk was much the same, where the necessities were not the same. This adventurous conduct of the poor was that which brought the plague among them in a most furious manner; and this, joined to the distress of their circumstances, when taken, was the reason why they died so by heaps; for I cannot say I could observe one jot of better husbandry among them, I mean the labouring poor, while they were all well and getting money, than there was before, but as lavish, as extravagant, and as thoughtless for tomorrow as ever; so that, when they came to be taken sick, they were immediately in the utmost distress, as well for want as for sickness, as well for lack of food as lack of health.

It must not be forgot here to take some notice of the state of trade during the time of this common calamity; and this with respect to foreign trade, as also to our home trade.

As to foreign trade, there needs little to be said. The trading nations of Europe were all afraid of us; no port of France, or Holland, or Spain, or Italy, would admit our ships or correspond with us; indeed we stood on ill terms with the Dutch, and were in a furious war with them, though in a bad condition to fight abroad, who had such dreadful enemies to struggle with at home.

Our merchants were accordingly at a full stop, their ships could go nowhere, that is to say, to no place abroad; their manufactures and merchandise, that is to say, of our growth, would not be touched abroad; they were as much afraid of our goods as

they were of our people; and, indeed, they had reason, for our woollen manufactures are as retentive of infection as human bodies, and, if packed up by persons infected, would receive the infection and be as dangerous to touch as a man would be that was infected; and, therefore, when any English vessel arrived in foreign countries, if they did take the goods on shore, they always caused the bales to be opened and aired in places appointed for that purpose. But from London, they would not suffer them to come into port, much less to unlade their goods upon any terms whatever.

The inconveniences in Spain and Portugal were still greater; for they would by no means suffer our ships, especially those from London, to come into any of their ports, much less to unlade. There was a report, that one of our ships, having by stealth delivered her cargo, among which was some English cloth, cotton, kerseys, and such-like goods, the Spaniards caused all the goods to be burnt, and punished the men with death who were concerned in carrying them on shore. This I believe was in part true, though I do not affirm it; but it is not at all unlikely, seeing the danger was really very great, the infection being so violent in London.

It remains to give some account of the state of trade at home in England, during this dreadful time; and, particularly, as it relates to the manufactures and the trade in the city. At the first breaking out of the infection, there was, as it is easy to suppose, a very great fright among the people, and consequently a general stop of trade, except in provisions and necessaries of life; and even in those things, as there was a vast number of people fled, and a very great number always sick, besides the number which died, so there could not be above two-thirds,

if above one-half, of the consumption of provisions in the city as used to be.

It pleased God to send a very plentiful year of corn and fruit, but not of hay or grass; by which means bread was cheap, by reason of the plenty of corn; flesh was cheap, by reason of the scarcity of grass; but butter and cheese were dear for the same reason; and hay in the market, just beyond Whitechapel bars, was sold at 4*l.* per load; but that affected not the poor. There was a most excessive plenty of all sorts of fruit, such as apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, grapes, and they were the cheaper, because of the wants of the people; but this made the poor eat them to excess, and this brought them into fluxes, griping of the guts, surfeits, and the like, which often precipitated them into the plague.

But to come to matters of trade. First, foreign exportation being stopped, or at least very much interrupted, and rendered difficult, a general stop of all those manufactures followed of course, which were usually brought for exportation; and, though merchants abroad were importunate for goods, yet little was sent, the passages being so generally stopped that the English ships would not be admitted, as is said already, into their port.

This put a stop to the manufactures that were for exportation in most parts of England, except in some outports, and even that was soon stopped; for they all had the plague in their turn. But, though this was felt all over England, yet, what was still worse, all intercourse of trade for home consumption of manufactures, especially those which usually circulated through the Londoners' hands, was stopped at once, the trade of the city being stopped.

All kinds of handicraft in the city, &c., tradesmen and mechanics, were, as I have said before, out of employ, and this occasioned the putting off and dismissing an innumerable number of journeymen and workmen of all sorts, seeing nothing was done relating to such trades, but what might be said to be absolutely necessary.

This caused the multitude of single people in London to be unprovided for; as also of families, whose living depended upon the labour of the heads of those families; I say, this reduced them to extreme misery; and I must confess, it is for the honour of the city of London, and will be for many ages, as long as this is to be spoken of, that they were able to supply with charitable provision the wants of so many thousands as afterwards fell sick, and were distressed; so that it may be safely averred, that nobody perished for want, at least that the magistrates had any notice given them of.

It remains now, that I should say something of the merciful part of this terrible judgment. The last week in September, the plague being come to a crisis, its fury began to assuage. I remember my friend Dr. Heath, coming to see me the week before, told me, he was sure that the violence of it would assuage in a few days; but, when I saw the weekly bill of that week, which was the highest of the whole year, being 8,297 of all diseases, I upbraided him with it, and asked him, what he had made his judgment from. His answer, however, was not so much to seek as I thought it would have been. Look you, says he; by the number which are at this time sick and infected, there should have been twenty thousand dead the last week instead of eight thousand, if the inveterate mortal contagion had been as it was two weeks ago; for

then it ordinarily killed in two or three days, now not under eight or ten; and then not above one in five recovered, whereas, I have observed, that now not above two in five miscarry; and observe it from me, the next bill will decrease, and you will see many more people recover than used to do; for, though a vast multitude are now everywhere infected, and as many every day fall sick, yet there will not so many die as there did, for the malignity of the distemper is abated; adding, that he began now to hope, nay, more than hope, that the infection had passed its crisis, and was going off; and, accordingly, so it was, for the next week being, as I said, the last in September, the bill decreased almost two thousand.

It is true, the plague was still at a frightful height, and the next bill was no less than 6,460, and the next to that 5,720; but still my friend's observation was just, and it did appear the people did recover faster, and more in number, than they used to do; and, indeed, if it had not been so, what had been the condition of the city of London? for, according to my friend, there were not fewer than sixty thousand people at that time infected, whereof, as above, 20,477 died, and near forty thousand recovered; whereas, had it been as it was before, fifty thousand of that number would very probably have died, if not more, and fifty thousand more would have sickened; for, in a word, the whole mass of people began to sicken, and it looked as if none would escape.

But this remark of my friend's appeared more evident in a few weeks more; for the decrease went on, and another week in October it decreased 1843, so that the number dead of the plague was but 2,665; and the next week it decreased 1413 more, and yet it was seen plainly, that there was abund-

ance of people sick, nay abundance more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every day, but, as above, the malignity of the disease abated.

Such is the precipitant disposition of our people, whether it is so or not all over the world that is none of my particular business to inquire, but I saw it apparently here, that as, upon the first fright of the infection, they shunned one another, and fled from one another's houses, and from the city, with an unaccountable, and, as I thought, unnecessary fright; so now, upon this notion spreading, viz., that the distemper was not so catching as formerly, and that, if it was catched, it was not so mortal; and seeing abundance of people who really fell sick recover again daily, they took to such a precipitant courage, and grew so entirely regardless of themselves and of the infection, that they made no more of the plague than of an ordinary fever, nor indeed so much. They not only went boldly into company with those who had tumours and carbuncles upon them that were running, and consequently contagious, but eat and drank with them; nay, into their houses to visit them; and even, as I was told, into their very chambers where they lay sick.

This I could not see rational. My friend Dr. Heath allowed, and it was plain to experience, that the distemper was as catching as ever, and as many fell sick, but only he alleged that so many of those that fell sick did not die; but I think, that, while many did die, and that at best the distemper itself was very terrible, the sores and swellings very tormenting, and the danger of death not left out of the circumstance of sickness, though not so frequent as before; all those things together, with the exceeding tediousness of the cure, the loathsomeness of the disease, and many other articles, were enough to deter any man living from a dangerous

mixture with the sick people, and make them as anxious almost to avoid the infection as before.

Nay, there was another thing which made the mere catching of the distemper frightful, and that was the terrible burning of the caustics which the surgeons laid on the swellings, to bring them to break and to run; without which, the danger of death was very great, even to the last; also, the insufferable torment of the swelling, which, though it might not make people raving and distracted, as they were before, and as I have given several instances of already, yet they put the patient to inexpressible torment; and those that fell into it, though they did escape with life, yet they made bitter complaints of those that had told them there was no danger, and sadly repented their rashness and folly in venturing to run into the reach of it.

Nor did this unwary conduct of the people end here; for a great many that thus cast off their cautions, suffered more deeply still, and though many escaped, yet many died; and at least, it had this public mischief attending it, that it made the decrease of burials slower than it would otherwise have been; for, as this notion run like lightning through the city, and people's heads were possessed with it, even as soon as the first great decrease in the bills appeared, we found that the two next bills did not decrease in proportion; the reason I take to be the people's running so rashly into danger, giving up all their former cautions and care, and all the shyness which they used to practise; depending that the sickness would not reach them, or that, if it did, they should not die.

The physicians opposed this thoughtless humour of the people with all their might, and gave out printed directions, spreading them all over the city and suburbs, advising the people to continue re-

served, and to use still the utmost caution in their ordinary conduct, notwithstanding the decrease of the distemper; terrifying them with the danger of bringing a relapse upon the whole city, and telling them how such a relapse might be more fatal and dangerous than the whole visitation that had been already; with many arguments and reasons to explain and prove that part to them, and which are too long to repeat here.

But it was all to no purpose; the audacious creatures were so possessed with the first joy, and so surprised with the satisfaction of seeing a vast decrease in the weekly bills, that they were impenetrable by any new terrors, and would not be persuaded, but that the bitterness of death was passed; and it was to no more purpose to talk to them, than to an east wind; but they opened shops, went about streets, did business, and conversed with anybody that came in their way to converse with, whether with business or without; neither inquiring of their health, or so much as being apprehensive of any danger from them, though they knew them not to be sound.

One John Cock, a barber in St. Martin's-le-Grand, was an eminent example of this; I mean of the hasty return of the people when the plague was abated. This John Cock had left the town with his whole family, and locked up his house, and was gone into the country as many others did; and finding the plague so decreased in November, that there died but 905 per week, of all diseases, he ventured home again; he had in his family ten persons, that is to say, himself and wife, five children, two apprentices, and a maid-servant; he had not been returned to his house above a week, and began to open his shop, and carry on his trade, but the distemper broke out in his family, and within

about five days they all died, except one; that is to say, himself, his wife, all his five children, and his two apprentices; and only the maid remained alive.

But the mercy of God was greater to the rest than we had reason to expect; for the malignity, as I have said, of the distemper was spent, the contagion was exhausted, and also the winter weather came on apace, and the air was clear and cold, with some sharp frosts; and these increasing still, most of those that had fallen sick recovered, and the health of the city began to return. There was, indeed, some returns of the distemper, even in the month of December, and the bills increased near a hundred; but it went off again, and so in a short while things began to return to their own channel. And wonderful it was to see how populous the city was again all on a sudden; so that a stranger could not miss the numbers that were lost, neither was there any miss of the inhabitants as to their dwellings. Few or no empty houses were to be seen, or if there were some, there was no want of tenants for them.

The people being thus returned, as it were in in general, it was very strange to find, that in their inquiring after their friends, some whole families were so entirely swept away, that there was no remembrance of them left; neither was anybody to be found to possess or show any title to that little they had left; for in such cases, what was to be found was generally embezzled and purloined, some gone one way, some another.

It was said such abandoned effects came to the king as the universal heir; upon which we are told, and I suppose it was in part true, that the king granted all such as deodands to the lord mayor and court of aldermen of London, to be applied to the

use of the poor, of whom there were very many. For it is to be observed, that though the occasions of relief, and the objects of distress were very many more in the time of the violence of the plague, than now after all was over; yet the distress of the poor was more now, a great deal than it was then, because all the sluices of general charity were shut: people supposed the main occasion to be over, and so stopped their hands; whereas, particular objects were still very moving, and the distress of those that were poor was very great indeed.

I should have mentioned, that the quakers had at that time also a burying-ground set apart to their use, and which they still make use of, and they had also a particular dead-cart to fetch their dead from their houses; and the famous Solomon Eagle, who, as I mentioned before, had predicted the plague as a judgment, and run naked through the streets, telling the people that it was come upon them to punish them for their sins, had his own wife died the very next day of the plague, and was carried, one of the first, in the quaker's dead-cart to their new burying-ground.

Great was the reproach thrown on physicians who left their patients during the sickness; and now they came to town again, nobody cared to employ them; they were called deserters, and frequently bills were set up upon their doors, and written, Here is a doctor to be let! So that several of those physicians were fain for awhile to sit still and look about them, or at least to remove their dwellings and set up in new places, and among new acquaintance. The like was the case with the clergy, who the people were indeed very abusive to, writing verses and scandalous reflections upon them; setting upon the church door, Here is a

pulpit to be let; or sometimes, To be sold; which was worse.

On the other hand, the dissenters reproaching those ministers of the Church with going away, and deserting their charge, abandoning the people in their danger, and when they had most need of comfort, and the like; this we could not approve; for all men have not the same faith, and the same courage, and the scripture commands us to judge the most favourably, and according to charity.

I was once making a list of all such, I mean of all those professions and employments who thus died, as I call it, in the way of their duty; but it was impossible for a private man to come at a certainty in the particulars. I only remember, that there died sixteen clergymen, two aldermen, five physicians, thirteen surgeons, within the city and liberties, before the beginning of September. But this being, as I said before, the crisis and extremity of the infection, it can be no complete list. As to inferior people, I think there died six and forty constables and headboroughs in the two parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel; but I could not carry my list on, for when the violent rage of the distemper, in September, came upon us, it drove us out of all measure. Men did then no more die by tale and by number; they might put out a weekly bill, and call them seven or eight thousand, or what they pleased; it is certain they died by heaps, and were buried by heaps; that is to say, without account. And, if I might believe some people, who were more abroad and more conversant with those things than I, though I was public enough for one that had no more business to do than I had; I say, if we may believe them, there was no less than twenty thousand per week; however the others

aver the truth of it, yet I rather choose to keep to the public account; seven or eight thousand per week is enough to make good all that I have said of the terror of those times; and it is much to the satisfaction of me that write, as well as those that read, to be able to say that everything is set down with moderation, and rather within compass than beyond it.

I cannot but leave it upon record, that the civil officers, such as constables, headboroughs, lord-mayor's and sheriff's-men, also parish officers, whose business it was to take charge of the poor, did their duties, in general, with as much courage as any, and, perhaps, with more; because their work was attended with more hazards, and lay more among the poor, who were more subject to be infected, and in the most pitiful plight when they were taken with the infection. But then it must be added too, that a great number of them died; indeed it was scarce possible it should be otherwise.

I have not said one word here about the physic or preparations that were ordinarily made use of on this terrible occasion; I mean we that went frequently abroad up and down the streets, as I did; much of this was talked of in the books and bills of our quack doctors, of whom I have said enough already. It may, however, be added, that the College of Physicians were daily publishing several preparations, which they had considered of in the process of their practice; and which, being to be had in print, I avoid repeating them for that reason.

One thing I could not help observing, what befell one of the quacks, who published that he had a most excellent preservative against the plague, which whoever kept about them should never be

infected, or liable to infection. This man, who, we may reasonably suppose, did not go abroad without some of this excellent preservative in his pocket, yet was taken with the distemper, and carried off in two or three days.

I am not of the number of the physic-haters, or physic-despisers; on the contrary, I have often mentioned the regard I had to the dictates of my particular friend Dr. Heath; but yet I must acknowledge I made use of little or nothing, except, as I have observed, to keep a preparation of strong scent, to have ready in case I met with anything of offensive smells, or went too near any burying-place or dead body.

There was still a question among the learned, and at first perplexed the people a little; and that was, in what manner to purge the house and goods where the plague had been, and how to render them habitable again which had been left empty during the time of the plague; abundance of perfumes and preparations were prescribed by physicians, some of one kind, some of another; in which the people who listened to them put themselves to a great, and, indeed, in my opinion, to an unnecessary expense; and the poorer people, who only set open their windows night and day, burnt brimstone, pitch, and gunpowder, and such things, in their rooms, did as well as the best; nay, the eager people, who, as I said above, came home in haste, and at all hazards, found little or no inconvenience in their houses, nor in their goods, and did little or nothing to them.

Though the poor came to town very precipitantly as I have said, yet, I must say, the rich made no such haste. The men of business, indeed, came up, but many of them did not bring their families

to town till the spring came on, and that they saw reason to depend upon it that the plague would not return.

The court, indeed, came up soon after Christmas; but the nobility and gentry, except such as depended upon, and had employment under the administration, did not come up so soon.

I should have taken notice here, that notwithstanding the violence of the plague in London, and other places, yet it was very observable that it was never on board the fleet; and yet, for some time, there was a strong press in the river, and even in the streets, for seamen to man the fleet. But it was in the beginning of the year, when the plague was scarce begun, and not at all come down to that part of the city where they usually press for seamen; and though a war with the Dutch was not at all grateful to the people at that time, and the seamen went with a kind of reluctancy into the service, and many complained of being dragged into it by force, yet it proved, in the event, a happy violence to several of them, who had probably perished in the general calamity, and, who, after the summer service was over, though they had cause to lament the desolation of their families, who, when they came back, were many of them in their graves; yet they had room to be thankful that they were carried out of the reach of it, though so much against their wills. We, indeed, had a hot war with the Dutch that year, and one very great engagement at sea, in which the Dutch were worsted; but we lost a great many men and some ships; But, as I observed, the plague was not in the fleet, and when they came to lay up the ships in the river, the violent part of it began to abate.

I would be glad if I could close the account of this melancholy year with some particular examples

historically; I mean of the thankfulness to God, our Preserver, for our being delivered from this dreadful calamity. Certainly the circumstances of the deliverance, as well as the terrible enemy we were delivered from, called upon the whole nation for it; the circumstances of the deliverance were, indeed, very remarkable, as I have in part mentioned already; and, particularly, the dreadful condition which we were all in, when we were, to the surprise of the whole town, made joyful with the hope of a stop of the infection.

Nothing but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent power could have done it; the contagion despised all medicine, death raged in every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all and everything that had a soul. Men everywhere began to despair, every heart failed them for fear; people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls, and the terrors of death sat in the countenances of the people.

In that very moment, when we might very well say, Vain was the help of man; I say, in that very moment it pleased God, with a most agreeable surprise, to cause the fury of it to abate, even of itself; and the malignity declining, as I have said, though infinite numbers were sick, yet fewer died; and the very first week's bill decreased 1843, a vast number indeed.

It is impossible to express the change that appeared in the very countenances of the people, that Thursday morning when the weekly bill came out; it might have been perceived in their countenances, that a secret surprise and smile of joy sat on everybody's face; they shook one another by the hands in the streets, who would hardly go on the same side of the way with one another before; where the

streets were not too broad, they would open their windows and call from one house to another, and asked how they did, and if they had heard the good news that the plague was abated; some would return, when they said good news, and ask, What good news? And when they answered that the plague was abated, and the bills decreased almost two thousand, they would cry out, God be praised; and would weep aloud for joy, telling them they had heard nothing of it; and such was the joy of the people, that it was as it were life to them from the grave. I could almost set down as many extravagant things done in the excess of their joy as of their grief; but that would be to lessen the value of it.

It was now, as I said before, the people had cast off all apprehensions, and that too fast; indeed, we were no more afraid now to pass by a man with a white cap upon his head, or with a cloth wrapt round his neck, or with his leg limping, occasioned by the sores in his groin, all which were frightful to the last degree but the week before; but now the street was full of them, and these poor recovering creatures, give them their due, appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance; and I should wrong them very much, if I should not acknowledge, that I believe many of them were really thankful; but I must own, that for the generality of the people it might too justly be said of them, as was said of the children of Israel, after their being delivered from the host of Pharaoh, when they passed the Red sea, and looked back and saw the Egyptians overwhelmed in the water; viz. "That they sang his praise, but they soon forgot his works."

I can go no further here. I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter

into the unpleasing work of reflecting, whatever cause there was for it, upon the unthankfulness and return of all manner of wickedness among us, which I was so much an eyewitness of myself. I shall conclude the account of this calamitous year, therefore, with a coarse but a sincere stanza of my own, which I placed at the end of my ordinary memorandums, the same year they were written:

A dreadful plague in London was,
  In the year sixty-five,
Which swept an hundred thousand souls
  Away; yet I alive!

H. F.

THE END OF THE HISTORY OF THE PLAGUE.

THE CONSOLIDATOR.

BY THE AUTHOR OF THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.

THE

CONSOLIDATOR:

OR,

MEMOIRS

OF

SUNDRY TRANSACTIONS

FROM THE

WORLD IN THE MOON.

Translated from the Lunar Language,

By the AUTHOR of

The True-born English Man.

LONDON:

Printed, and are to be Sold by *Benjamin Bragg*, at the *Blue Ball*, in *Ave-mary-lane*, 1705.

THE

CONSOLIDATOR

It cannot be unknown to any that have travelled into the dominions of the czar of Muscovy, that this famous rising monarch, Peter the Great, having studied all methods for the increase of his power, and the enriching as well as polishing his subjects, has travelled through most part of Europe, and visited the courts of the greatest princes; from whence, by his own observation, as well as by carrying with him artists in most useful knowledge, he has transmitted most of our general practice, especially in war and trade, to his own unpolite people; and the effects of this curiosity of his are exceeding visible in his present proceedings; for by the improvements he obtained in his European travels, he has modelled his armies, formed new fleets, settled foreign negoce in several remote parts of the world; and we now see his forces besieging strong towns, with regular approaches; and his engineers raising batteries, throwing bombs, &c., like other nations; whereas before, they had nothing of order among them, but carried all by onslaught and scalado, wherein they either prevailed by the force of irresistible multitude, or were slaughtered by heaps, and left the ditches of their enemies filled with their dead bodies.

We see their armies now formed into regular

battalions; and their Strelitz musketeers, a people equivalent to the Turks' Janizaries, clothed like our guards, firing in platoons, and behaving themselves with extraordinary bravery and order.

We see their ships now completely fitted, built and furnished, by the English and Dutch artists, and their men of war cruise in the Baltic. Their new city of Petersburg, built by the present czar, begins now to look like our Portsmouth, fitted with wet and dry docks, storehouses, and magazines of naval preparations, vast and incredible; which may serve to remind us, how we once taught the French to build ships, till they are grown able to teach us how to use them.

As to trade, our large fleets to Archangel may speak for it, where we now send a hundred sail yearly, instead of eight or nine, which were the greatest number we ever sent before; and the importation of tobaccoes from England into his dominions, would still increase the trade thither, was not the covetousness of our own merchants the obstruction of their advantages. But all this by the by.

As this great monarch has improved his country, by introducing the manners and customs of the politer nations of Europe; so, with indefatigable industry, he has settled a new, but constant trade, between his country and China, by land; where his caravans go twice or thrice a year, as numerous almost, and as strong, as those from Egypt to Persia: nor is the way shorter, or the deserts they pass over, less wild and uninhabitable, only that they are not so subject to floods of sand, if that term be proper, or to troops of Arabs, to destroy them by the way; for this powerful prince, to make this terrible journey feasible to his subjects, has built forts, planted colonies and garrisons at proper distances; where, though they are seated in countries

entirely barren, and among uninhabited rocks and sands, yet, by his continual furnishing them from his own stores, the merchants travelling are relieved on good terms, and meet both with convoy and refreshment.

More might be said of the admirable decorations of this journey, and how so prodigious an attempt is made easy; so that now they have an exact correspondence, and drive a prodigious trade between Moscow and Tonquin; but, having a longer voyage in hand, I shall not detain the reader, nor keep him till he grows too big with expectation.

Now, as all men know the Chinese are an ancient, wise, polite, and most ingenious people; so the Muscovites begun to reap the benefit of this open trade; and not only to grow exceeding rich by the bartering for all the wealth of those eastern countries, but to polish and refine their customs and manners as much, on that side, as they have from their European improvements on this.

And as the Chinese have many sorts of learning which these parts of the world never heard of, so all those useful inventions which we admire ourselves so much for, are vulgar and common with them, and were in use long before our parts of the world were inhabited. Thus gunpowder, printing, and the use of the magnet and compass, which we call modern inventions, are not only far from being inventions, but fall so far short of the perfection of art they have attained to, that it is hardly credible what wonderful things we are told of from thence; and all the voyages the author has made thither, being employed another way, have not yet furnished him with the particulars fully enough to transmit them to view; not but that he is preparing a scheme of all those excellent arts those nations are masters of, for public view, by way of detection of

the monstrous ignorance and deficiencies of European science; which may serve as a Lexicon Technicum for this present age, with useful diagrams for that purpose; wherein I shall not fail to acquaint the world, 1. With the art of gunnery, as practised in China long before the war of the giants, and by which those presumptuous animals fired redhot bullets right up into heaven, and made a breach sufficient to encourage them to a general storm; but being repulsed with great slaughter, they gave over the siege for that time. This memorable part of history shall be a faithful abridgment of Ibra Chizra-le-peglizar, historiographer-royal to the emperor of China, who wrote anno mundi 114., his volumes extant, in the public library at Tonquin, printed in leaves of vitrified diamond, by an admirable dexterity, struck all at an oblique motion, the engine remaining entire, and still fit for use, in the chamber of the emperor's rarities.

And here I shall give you a draft of the engine itself, and a plan of its operation, and the wonderful dexterity of its performance.

If these labours of mine shall prove successful, I may, in my next journey that way, take an abstract of their most admirable tracts in navigation, and the mysteries of Chinese mathematics; which outdo all modern invention at that rate, that it is inconceivable: in this elaborate work I must run through the 365 volumes of Augro-machi-lanquaro-zi, the most ancient mathematician in all China: from thence I shall give a description of a fleet of ships of a hundred thousand sail, built at the expense of the emperor Tangro the XVth; who having notice of the general deluge, prepared these vessels, to every city and town in his dominions one, and in bulk proportioned to the number of its inhabitants; into

which vessel all the people, with such moveables as they thought fit to save, and with a hundred and twenty days' provisions, were received at the time of the flood; and the rest of their goods being put into great vessels made of China ware, and fast luted down on the top, were preserved unhurt by the water: these ships they furnished with six hundred fathom of chain instead of cables, which being fastened by wonderful arts to the earth, every vessel rid out the deluge just at the town's end; so that when the waters abated, the people had nothing to do but to open the doors made in the ship-sides, and come out, repair their houses, open the great China pots their goods were in, and so put themselves *in statu quo.*

The draft of one of these ships I may perhaps obtain by my interest in the present emperor's court, as it has been preserved ever since, and constantly repaired, riding at anchor in a great lake, about a hundred miles from Tonquin; in which all the people of that city were preserved, amounting by their computation to about a million and half.

And as these things must be very useful in these parts, to abate the pride and arrogance of our modern undertakers of great enterprises, authors of strange foreign accounts, philosophical transactions, and the like; if time and opportunity permit, I may let them know how infinitely we are outdone by those refined nations, in all manner of mechanic improvements and arts; and in discoursing of this, it will necessarily come in my way to speak of a most noble invention, being an engine I would recommend to all people to whom it is necessary to have a good memory; and which I design, if possible, to obtain a draft of, that it may be erected in our Royal Society's laboratory; it has the wonderfullest operations in the world: one part of it

furnishes a man of business to dispatch his affairs strangely; for if he be a merchant, he shall write his letters with one hand, and copy them with the other: if he is posting his books, he shall post the debtor side with one hand, and the creditor with the other; if he be a lawyer, he draws his drafts with one hand, and engrosses them with the other.

Another part of it furnishes him with such an expeditious way of writing, or transcribing, that a man cannot speak so fast but he that hears shall have it down in writing before it is spoken; and a preacher shall deliver himself to his auditory, and having this engine before him, shall put down everything he says in writing at the same time; and so exactly is this engine squared by lines and rules, that it does not require him that writes to keep his eye upon it.

I am told, in some parts of China, they had arrived to such a perfection of knowledge, as to understand one another's thoughts; and that it was found to be an excellent preservative to human society, against all sorts of frauds, cheats, sharping, and many thousand European inventions of that nature at which only we can be said to outdo those nations.

I confess, I have not yet had leisure to travel those parts, having been diverted by an accidental opportunity of a new voyage I had occasion to make for further discoveries, and which the pleasure and usefulness thereof having been very great, I have omitted the other for the present, but shall not fail to make a visit to those parts the first opportunity, and shall give my countrymen the best account I can of those things; for I doubt not in time to bring our nation, so famed for improving other people's discoveries, to be as wise as any of those heathen nations; I wish I had the same prospect of making them half so honest.

I had spent but a few months in this country, but my search after the prodigy of human knowledge the people abounds with, led me into acquaintance with some of their principal artists, engineers, and men of letters; and I was astonished at every day's discovery of new and unheard-of worlds of learning; but I improved in the superficial knowledge of their general, by nobody so much as by my conversation with the library-keeper of Tonquin, by whom I had admission into the vast collection of books which the emperors of that country have treasured up.

It would be endless to give you a catalogue, and they admit of no strangers to write anything down; but what the memory can retain, you are welcome to carry away with you; and amongst the wonderful volumes of ancient and modern learning, I could not but take notice of a few; which, besides those I mentioned before, I saw, when I looked over this vast collection; and a larger account may be given in our next.

It would be needless to transcribe the Chinese character, or to put their alphabet into our letters, because the words would be both unintelligible, and very hard to pronounce; and therefore, to avoid hard words and hieroglyphics, I will translate them as well as I can.

The first class I came to of books, was the constitutions of the empire; these are vast great volumes, and have a sort of engine like our Magna Charta, to remove them, and with placing them in a frame, by turning a screw, opened the leaves, and folded them this way, or that, as the reader desires. It was present death for the library-keeper to refuse the meanest Chinese subject to come in and read them; for it is their maxim, that all people ought to know the laws by which they are to be governed; and as, above all people, we find no fools in this country,

so the emperors, though they seem to be arbitrary, enjoy the greatest authority in the world, by always observing, with the greatest exactness, the *pacta conventa* of their government: from these principles it is impossible we should ever hear either of the tyranny of princes, or rebellion of subjects, in all their histories.

At the entrance into this class, you find some ancient comments, upon the constitution of the empire, written many ages before we pretend the world began: but above all, one I took particular notice of, which might bear this title, Natural Right proved superior to Temporal Power; wherein the old author proves, the Chinese emperors were originally made so, by nature's directing the people to place the power of government in the most worthy person they could find; and the author, giving a most exact history of two thousand emperors, brings them into about thirty-five or thirty-six periods of lines, when the race ended; and when a collective assembly of the nobles, cities, and people, nominated a new family to the government.

This being an heretical book as to European politics, and our learned authors having long since exploded this doctrine, and proved that kings and emperors came down from heaven with crowns on their heads, and all their subjects were born with saddles on their backs; I thought fit to leave it where I found it, lest our excellent tracts of sir Robert Filmer, Dr. Hammond, L——y, S——l, and others, who have so learnedly treated of the more useful doctrine of passive obedience, divine right, &c., should be blasphemed by the mob, grow into contempt of the people, and they should take upon them to question their superiors for the blood of Algernon Sidney and Argyle.

For I take the doctrines of passive obedience, &c.,

among the statesmen, to be like the Copernican system of the earth's motion among philosophers: which, though it be contrary to all ancient knowledge, and not capable of demonstration, yet is adhered to in general, because by this they can better solve, and give a more rational account of several dark phenomena in nature, than they could before.

Thus our modern statesmen approve of this scheme of government; not that it admits of any rational defence, much less of demonstration, but because by this method they can the better explain, as well as defend, all coercion in cases invasive of natural right, than they could before.

Here I found two famous volumes in chirurgery, being an exact description of the circulation of the blood, discovered long before king Solomon's allegory of the bucket's going to the well; with several curious methods by which the demonstration was to be made so plain, as would make even the worthy doctor B—— himself become a convert to his own eyesight, make him damn his own elaborate book, and think it worse nonsense than ever the town had the freedom to imagine.

All our philosophers are fools, and their transactions a parcel of empty stuff, to the experiments of the Royal Societies in this country. Here I came to a learned tract of winds, which outdoes even the sacred text, and would make us believe it was not wrote to those people; for they tell folks whence it comes, and whither it goes. There you have an account how to make glasses of hogs' eyes, that can see the wind; and they give strange accounts both of its regular and irregular motions, its compositions and quantities; from whence, by a sort of algebra, they can cast up its duration, violence, and extent: in these calculations, some say, those authors have

been so exact, that they can, as our philosophers say of comets, state their revolutions, and tell us how many storms there shall happen to any period of time, and when; and perhaps this may be with much about the same truth.

It was a certain sign Aristotle had never been at China; for, had he seen the 216th volume of the Chinese navigation, in the library I am speaking of, a large book in double folio, wrote by the famous Mira-cho-cho-lasmo, vice-admiral of China, and said to be printed there about two thousand years before the deluge, in the chapter of tides he would have seen the reason of all the certain and uncertain fluxes and refluxes of that element, how the exact pace is kept between the moon and the tides, with a most elaborate discourse there, of the power of sympathy, and the manner how the heavenly bodies influence the earthly: had he seen this, the Stagyrite would never have drowned himself, because he could not comprehend this mystery.

It is further related of this famous author, that he was no native of this world, but was born in the moon, and coming hither to make discoveries, by a strange invention arrived to by the virtuosos of that habitable world, the emperor of China prevailed with him to stay and improve his subjects in the most exquisite accomplishments of those lunar regions; and no wonder the Chinese are such exquisite artists, and masters of such sublime knowledge, when this famous author has blest them with such unaccountable methods of improvement.

There was abundance of vast classes full of the works of this wonderful philosopher: he gave the how, the modus of all the secret operations of nature; and told us, how sensation is conveyed to and from the brain; why respiration preserves life; and how locomotion is directed to, as well as per-

formed by the parts. There are some anatomical dissections of thought, and a mathematical description of nature's strong box, the memory, with all its locks and keys.

There you have that part of the head turned inside outward, in which nature has placed the materials of reflecting; and, like a glass beehive, represents to you all the several cells in which are lodged things past, even back to infancy and conception. There you have the repository, with all its cells, classically, annually, numerically, and alphabetically disposed. There you may see how, when the perplexed animal, on the loss of a thought or word, scratches his pole, every attack of his invading fingers knocks at nature's door, alarms all the register-keepers, and away they run, unlock all the classes, search diligently for what he calls for, and immediately deliver it up to the brain; if it cannot be found, they entreat a little patience, till they step into the revolvary, where they run over little catalogues of the minutest passages of life, and so, in time, never fail to hand on the thing; if not just when he calls for it, yet at some other time.

And thus, when a thing lies very abstruse, and all the rummaging of the whole house cannot find it; nay, when all the people in the house have given it over, they very often find one thing when they are looking for another.

Next you have the retentive in the remotest part of the place, which, like the records in the Tower, takes possession of all matters, as they are removed from the classes in the repository, for want of room. These are carefully locked, and kept safe, never to be opened but upon solemn occasions, and have swinging great bars and bolts upon them; so that what is kept here, is seldom lost. Here con-

science has one large warehouse, and the devil another; the first is very seldom opened, but has a chink or till, where all the follies and crimes of life, being minuted, are dropt in; but as the man seldom cares to look in, the locks are very rusty, and not opened but with great difficulty, and on extraordinary occasions, as sickness, afflictions, jails, casualties, and death; and then the bars all give way at once; and being prest from within with a more than ordinary weight, burst as a cask of wine upon the fret, which, for want of vent, makes all the hoops fly.

As for the devil's warehouse, he has two constant warehouse-keepers, Pride and Conceit, and these are all always at the door, showing their wares, and exposing the pretended virtues and accomplishments of the man, by way of ostentation.

In the middle of this curious part of nature, there is a clear thoroughfare, representing the world, through which so many thousand people pass so easily, and do so little worth taking notice of, that it is for no manner of signification to leave word they have been here. Through this opening pass millions of things not worth remembering, and which the register-keepers, who stand at the doors of the classes, as they go by, take no notice of; such as friendships, helps in distress, kindnesses in affliction, voluntary services, and all sorts of importunate merit; things which, being but trifles in their own nature, are made to be forgotten.

In another angle is to be seen the memory's garden, in which her most pleasant things are not only deposited, but planted, transplanted, grafted, inoculated, and obtain all possible propagation and increase; these are the most pleasant, delightful, and agreeable things, called envy, slander, revenge, strife, and malice, with the additions of ill turns,

reproaches, and all manner of wrong; these are caressed in the cabinet of the memory, with a world of pleasure never let pass, and carefully cultivated with all imaginable art.

There are multitudes of weeds, toys, chat, story, fiction, and lying, which, in the great throng of passant affairs, stop by the way, and crowding up the place, leave no room for their betters that come behind, which makes many a good guess be put by, and left to go clear through for want of entertainment.

There are a multitude of things very curious and observable, concerning this little, but very accurate thing, called memory; but above all, I see nothing so very curious, as the wonderful art of wilful forgetfulness; and as it is a thing, indeed, I never could find any person completely master of, it pleased me very much to find this author has made a large essay, to prove there is really no such power in nature; and that the pretenders to it are all impostors, and put a banter upon the world; for that it is impossible for any man to oblige himself to forget a thing, since he that can remember to forget, and at the same time forget to remember, has an art above the devil.

In his laboratory you see a fancy preserved a la mummy, several thousand years old; by examining which you may perfectly discern, how nature makes a poet. Another you have taken from a mere natural, which discovers the reasons of nature's negative in the case of human understanding; what deprivation of parts she suffers, in the composition of a coxcomb; and with what wonderful art she prepares a man to be a fool.

Here being the product of this author's wonderful skill, you have a skeleton of a wit, with all the read-

ings of philosophy and chirurgery upon the parts: here you see all the lines nature has drawn to form a genius; how it performs, and from what principles.

Also you are instructed to know the true reason of the affinity between poetry and poverty; and that it is equally derived from what is natural and intrinsic, as from accident and circumstance; how the world being always full of fools and knaves, wit is sure to miss of a good market; especially, if wit and truth happen to come in company; for the fools don't understand it, and the knaves can't bear it.

But still it is owned, and is most apparent, there is something also natural in the case too, since there are some particular vessels nature thinks necessary to the more exact composition of this nice thing called a wit, which, as they are or are not interrupted in the peculiar offices for which they are appointed, are subject to various distempers, and more particularly to effluxions and vapours, deliriums, giddiness of the brain, and lapsæ, or looseness of the tongue; and as these distempers, occasioned by the exceeding quantity of volatiles nature is obliged to make use of in the composition, are hardly to be avoided, the disasters which generally they push the animal into, are as necessarily consequent to them as night is to the setting of the sun; and these are very many, as disobliging parents, who have frequently in this country whipped their sons for making verses; and here I could not but reflect how useful a discipline early correction must be to a poet; and how easy the town had been had N——t, E——w, T. B——, P——s, D——, S——, D——fy, and a hundred more of the jingling train of our modern rhymers, been whipped young, very young, for poetasting, they had never perhaps

sucked in that venom of ribaldry, which all the satire of the age has never been able to scourge out of them to this day.

The further fatal consequences of these unhappy defects in nature, where she has damned a man to wit and rhyme, has been loss of inheritance, parents being aggravated by the obstinate young beaus' resolving to be wits in spite of nature, the wiser head has been obliged to confederate with nature, and withhold the birthright of brains, which otherwise the young gentleman might have enjoyed to the great support of his family and posterity. Thus the famous Waller, Denham, Dryden, and sundry others, were obliged to condemn their race to lunacy and blockheadism, only to prevent the fatal destruction of their families, and entailing the plague of wit and weathercocks upon their posterity.

The yet further extravagances which naturally attend the mischief of wit, are beauism, dogmaticality, whimsification, impudensity, and various kinds of fopperosities (according to Mr. Boyle,) which, issuing out of the brain, descend into all the faculties, and branch themselves, by infinite variety, into all the actions of life.

These, by consequence, beggar the head, the tail, the purse, and the whole man, till he becomes as poor and despicable as negative nature can leave him, abandoned of his sense, his manners, his modesty, and what's worse, his money; having nothing left but his poetry, dies in a ditch, or a garret, alamode de Tom Brown, uttering rhymes and nonsense to the last moment.

In pity to all my unhappy brethren who suffer under these inconveniences, I cannot but leave it on record, that they may not be reproached with being agents of their own misfortunes, since I

assure them nature has formed them with the very necessity of acting like coxcombs, fixed upon them by the force of organic consequences, and placed down at the very original effusion of that fatal thing called wit.

Nor is the discovery less wonderful than edifying, and no human art on our side the world ever found out such a sympathetic influence, between the extremes of wit and folly, till this great lunarian naturalist furnished us with such unheard-of demonstrations.

Nor is this all I learnt from him, though I cannot part with this, till I have published a *memento mori*, and told them what I had discovered of nature in these remote parts of the world; from whence I take the freedom to tell these gentlemen that if they please to travel to these distant parts, and examine this great master of nature's secrets, they may every man see what cross strokes nature has struck, to finish and form every extravagant species of that heterogeneous kind we call wit.

There C—— S—— may be informed how he comes to be very witty and a madman all at once; and P——r may see, that with less brains and more p——x he is more a wit and more a madman than the Coll. Ad—son may tell his master, my lord ——, the reason from nature, why he would not take the court's word, nor write the poem called, The Campaign, till he had 200*l.* per annum secured to him; since it is known they have but one author in the nation that writes for them for nothing, and he is labouring very hard to obtain the title of blockhead, and not be paid for it: here D. might understand how he came to be able to banter all mankind, and yet all mankind be able to banter him; at the same time, our numerous throng of Parnassians may see reasons for the

variety of the negative and positive blessings they enjoy; some for having wit and no verse, some verse and no wit, some mirth without jest, some jest without forecast, some rhyme and no jingle, some all jingle and no rhyme, some language without measure, some all quantity and no cadence, some all wit and no sense, some all sense and no flame; some preach in rhyme, some sing when they preach; some all song and no tune, some all tune and no song: all these unaccountables have their originals, and can be answered for in unerring nature, though in our outside guesses we can say little to it. Here is to be seen, why some are all nature, some all art; some beat verse out of the twenty-four rough letters, with ten hammers and anvils to every line, and maul the language as a Swede beats stockfish; others huff nature, and bully her out of whole stanzas of ready-made lines at a time, carry all before them, and rumble like distant thunder in a black cloud: thus degrees and capacities are fitted by nature, according to organic efficacy, and the reason and nature of things are found in themselves. Had D——y seen his own draft by this light of Chinese knowledge, he might have known he should be a coxcomb without writing twenty-two plays, to stand as so many records against him. Dryden might have told his fate, that having his extraordinary genius slung and pitched upon a swivel, it would certainly turn round as fast as the times, and instruct him how to write elegies to O. C. and king C. the Second, with all the coherence imaginable; how to write Religio Laicy, and the Hind and Panther, and yet be the same man, every day to change his principle, change his religion, change his coat, change his master, and yet never change his nature.

There are abundance of other secrets in nature

discovered in relation to these things, too many to repeat, and yet too useful to omit; as the reason why physicians are generally atheists, and why atheists are universally fools, and generally live to know it themselves; the real obstructions which prevent fools being mad, all the natural causes of love, abundance of demonstrations of the synonymous nature of love and lechery, especially considered a la modern, with an absolute specific for the frenzy of love, found out in the constitution, Anglice, a halter.

It would be endless to reckon up the numerous improvements and wonderful discoveries this extraordinary person has brought down, and which are to be seen in his curious chamber of rarities.

Particularly a map of Parnassus, with an exact delineation of all the cells, apartments, palaces and dungeons, of that most famous mountain; with a description of its height, and a learned dissertation, proving it to be the properest place, next to the P——e house, to take a rise at for a flight to the world in the moon.

Also some inquiries whether Noah's ark did not first rest upon it; and this might be one of the summits of Ararat; with some confutations of the gross and palpable errors which place this extraordinary skill among the mountains of the moon, in Africa.

Also you have here a muse calcined, a little of the powder of which given to a woman big with child, if it be a boy it will be a poet, if a girl she will be a whore, if an hermaphrodite it will be lunatic.

Strange things, they tell us, have been done with this calcined womb of imagination; if the body it came from was a lyric poet, the child will be a beau, or a beauty; if an heroic poet, he will be

a bully; if his talent was satire, he will be a philosopher.

Another muse, they tell us, they have dissolved into a liquid, and kept with wondrous art, the virtues of which are sovereign against idiotism, dulness, and all sorts of lethargic diseases; but if given in too great a quantity, creates poesy, poverty, lunacy, and the devil in the head ever after.

I confess I always thought these muses strange intoxicating things, and have heard much talk of their original, but never was acquainted with their virtue, a la simple, before; however, I would always advise people against too large a dose of wit, and think the physician must be a madman that will venture to prescribe it.

As all these noble acquirements came down with this wonderful man from the world in the moon, it furnished me with these useful observations:—

1. That country must needs be a place of strange perfection, in all parts of extraordinary knowledge.

2. How useful a thing it would be for most sorts of our people, especially statesmen, p——t-men, convocation-men, philosophers, physicians, quacks, mountebanks, stock-jobbers, and all the mob of the nation's civil or ecclesiastical bone-setters, together with some men of the law, some of the sword, and all of the pen: I say, how useful and improving a thing it must be to them, to take a journey up to the world in the moon; but above all, how much more beneficial it would be to them that stayed behind.

3. That it is not to be wondered at, why the Chinese excel so much all these parts of the world, since but for that knowledge which comes down to them from the world in the moon, they would be like other people.

4. No man need to wonder at my exceeding de-

sire to go up to the world in the moon, having heard of such extraordinary knowledge to be obtained there, since in the search of knowledge and truth, wiser men than I have taken as unwarrantable flights, and gone a great deal higher than the moon, into a strange abyss of dark phenomena, which they neither could make other people understand, nor ever rightly understood themselves; witness Malbranch, Mr. Lock, Hobbs, the honourable Boyle, and a great many others, besides messieurs Norris, Asgil, Coward, and the Tale of a Tub.

This great searcher into nature has, besides all this, left wonderful discoveries and experiments behind him; but I was with nothing more exceedingly diverted than with his various engines, and curious contrivances, to go to and from his own native country the moon. All our mechanic motions of bishop Wilkins, or the artificial wings of the learned Spaniard, who could have taught God Almighty how to have mended the creation, are fools to this gentleman; and because no man in China has made more voyages up into the moon than myself, I cannot but give you some account of the easiness of the passage, as well as of the country.

Nor are his wonderful telescopes of a mean quality, by which such plain discoveries are made, of the lands and seas in the moon, and in all the habitable planets, that one may as plainly see what o'clock it is by one of the dials in the moon, as if it were no further off than Windsor castle; and had he lived to finish the speaking-trumpet which he had contrived to convey sound thither, Harlequin's mock-trumpet had been a fool to it; and it had no doubt been an admirable experiment, to have given us a general advantage from all their acquired knowledge in those regions, where no doubt several useful discoveries are daily made by the men of

thought for the improvement of all sorts of human understanding; and to have discoursed with them on those things, must have been very pleasant, besides its being very much to our particular advantage.

I confess I have thought it might have been very useful to this nation, to have brought so wonderful an invention hither, and I was once very desirous to have set up my rest here, and for the benefit of my native country, have made myself master of these engines, that I might in due time have conveyed them to our Royal Society, that once in forty years they might have been said to do something for public good; and that the reputation and usefulness of the so so's might be recovered in England; but being told that in the moon there were many of these glasses to be had very cheap, and I having declared my resolution of undertaking a voyage thither, I deferred my design, and shall defer my treating of them till I give some account of my arrival there.

But above all his inventions for making this voyage, I saw none more pleasant or profitable than a certain engine formed in the shape of a chariot, on the backs of two vast bodies with extended wings, which spread about fifty yards in breadth, composed of feathers so nicely put together, that no air could pass; and as the bodies were made of lunar earth, which would bear the fire, the cavities were filled with an ambient flame, which fed on a certain spirit, deposited in a proper quantity to last out the voyage; and this fire so ordered as to move about such springs and wheels as kept the wings in a most exact and regular motion, always ascendant; thus the person being placed in this airy chariot, drinks a certain dozing draught, that throws him

into a gentle slumber, and dreaming all the way, never wakes till he comes to his journey's end.

OF THE CONSOLIDATOR.

These engines are called in their country language, Dupekasses; and according to the ancient Chinese, or Tartarian, Apezolanthukanistes; in English, a Consolidator.

The composition of this engine is very admirable; for, as is before noted, it is all made up of feathers, and the quality of the feathers is no less wonderful than their composition; and therefore, I hope the reader will bear with the description for the sake of the novelty, since I assure him such things as these are not to be seen in every country.

The number of feathers are just 513; they are all of a length and breadth exactly, which is absolutely necessary to the floating figure, or else one side or any one part being wider or longer than the rest, it would interrupt the motion of the whole engine; only there is one extraordinary feather, which, as there is an odd one in the number, is placed in the centre, and is the handle, or rather rudder to the whole machine: this feather is every way larger than its fellows, it is almost as long and broad again; but above all, its quill or head is much larger, and it has, as it were, several small bushing feathers round the bottom of it, which all make but one presiding or superintendent feather, to guide, regulate, and pilot the whole body.

Nor are these common feathers, but they are picked and culled out of all parts of the lunar country, by the command of the prince; and every province sends up the best they can find, or ought to do so at least, or else they are very much to

blame; for the employment they are put to being of so great use to the public, and the voyage or flight so exceeding high, it would be very ill done if, when the king sends his letters about the nation, to pick him up the best feathers they can lay their hands on, they should send weak, decayed, or half-grown feathers, and yet sometimes it happens so; and once there was such rotten feathers collected, whether it was a bad year for feathers, or whether the people that gathered them had a mind to abuse their king; but the feathers were so bad, the engine was good for nothing, but broke before it was got half way; and, by a double misfortune, this happened to be at an unlucky time, when the king himself had resolved on a voyage or flight to the moon; but being deceived by the unhappy miscarriage of the deficient feathers, he fell down from so great a height, that he struck himself against his own palace and beat his head off.

Nor had the sons of this prince much better success, though the first of them was a prince mightily beloved by his subjects; but his misfortunes chiefly proceeded from his having made use of one of the engines so very long, that the feathers were quite worn out, and good for nothing; he used to make a great many voyages and flights into the moon, and then would make his subjects give him great sums of money to come down to them again; and yet they were so fond of him, that they always complied with him, and would give him everything he asked, rather than to be without him: but they grew wiser since.

At last this prince used his engine so long, it could hold together no longer; and being obliged to write to his subjects to pick him out some new feathers, they did so; but withal sent him such strong feathers, and so stiff, that when he had

placed them in their proper places, and made a very beautiful engine, it was too heavy for him to manage: he made a great many essays at it, and had it placed on the top of an old idol chapel, dedicated to an old Brahmin saint of those countries, called, Phantosteinaschap; in Latin, *Chap. de Saint Stephano;* or in English, St. Stephen's. Here the prince tried all possible contrivances, and a vast deal of money it cost him; but the feathers were so stiff, they would not work, and the fire within was so choked and smothered with its own smoke, for want of due vent and circulation, that it would not burn; so he was obliged to take it down again; and from thence he carried it to his college of Brahmin priests, and set it up in one of their public buildings: there he drew circles of ethics and politics, and fell to casting of figures and conjuring, but all would not do, the feathers could not be brought to move; and indeed I have observed, that these engines are seldom helped by art and contrivance; there is no way with them, but to have the people spoke to, to get good feathers; and they are easily placed, and perform all the several motions with the greatest ease and accuracy imaginable; but it must be all nature; anything of force distorts and dislocates them, and the whole order is spoiled; and if there be but one feather out of place, or pinched, or stands wrong, the d——l would not ride in the chariot.

The prince thus finding his labour in vain, broke the engine to pieces, and sent his subjects word what bad feathers they had sent him: but the people, who knew it was his own want of management, and that the feathers were good enough, only a little stiff at first, and with good usage would have been brought to be fit for use, took it ill, and never would send him any other as long as he lived:

however, it had this good effect upon him, that he never made any more voyages to the moon as long as he reigned.

His brother succeeded him; and truly he was resolved upon a voyage to the moon, as soon as ever he came to the crown. He had met with some unkind usage from the religious lunesses of his own country; and he turned Abogratziarian, a zealous fiery sect, something like our Anti-every-body-arians in England. It is confessed some of the Brahmins of his country were very false to him, put him upon several ways of extending his power over his subjects, contrary to the customs of the people, and contrary to his own interest; and when the people expressed their dislike of it, he thought to have been supported by those clergymen; but they failed him, and made good that old English verse;

That priests of all religions are the same.

He took this so heinously, that he conceived a just hatred against those that had deceived him; and as resentments seldom keep rules, unhappily entertained prejudices against all the rest; and not finding it easy to bring all his designs to pass better, he resolved upon a voyage to the moon.

Accordingly he sends a summons to all his people, according to custom, to collect the usual quantity of feathers for that purpose; and because he would be sure not to be used as his brother and father had been, he took care to send certain cunning men, express, all over the country, to bespeak the people's care in collecting, picking, and culling them out; these were called in their language, Tsopablesdetoo; which, being translated, may signify in English, Men of Zeal, or Booted Apostles: nor was this the only caution this prince used; for he took care, as the feathers were sent up to him, to search and examine

them one by one in his own closet, to see if they were fit for his purpose; but, alas! he found himself in his brother's case exactly; and perceived that his subjects were generally disgusted at his former conduct, about Abrogratzianism, and such things, and particularly set in a flame by some of their priests, called Dullobardians, or Passive-Obedience-men, who had lately turned their tale, and their tail too, upon their own princes; and upon this, he laid aside any more thoughts of the engine, but took up a desperate and implacable resolution, viz. to fly up to the moon without it; in order to this, abundance of his cunning men were summoned together to assist him, strange engines contrived and methods proposed; and a great many came from all parts to furnish him with inventions and equivalent for their journey; but all were so preposterous and ridiculous, that his subjects seeing him going on to ruin himself, and by consequence them too, unanimously took arms; and if their prince had not made his escape into a foreign country, it is thought they would have secured him for a madman.

And here it is observable, that as it is in most such cases, the mad councillors of this prince, when the people begun to gather about him, fled, and every one shifted for themselves; nay, and some of them plundered him first of his jewels and treasure, and never were heard of since.

From this prince none of the kings or government of that country have ever seemed to incline to the hazardous attempt of the voyage to the moon, at least not in such a hairbrained manner.

However, the engine has been very accurately rebuilt and finished; and the people are now obliged by a law, to send up new feathers every three years, to prevent the mischiefs which hap-

pened by that prince aforesaid keeping one set so long that it was dangerous to venture with them; and thus the engine is preserved fit for use.

And yet has not this engine been without its continual disasters, and often out of repair; for though the kings of the country, as has been noted, have done riding on the back of it, yet the restless courtiers and ministers of state have frequently obtained the management of it, from the too easy goodness of their masters, or the evils of the times.

To cure this, the princes frequently changed hands, turned one set of men out and put another in; but this made things still worse, for it divided the people into parties and factions in the state, and still the strife was, who should ride in this engine; and no sooner were these Skaet-riders got into it, but they were for driving all the nation up to the moon: but of this by itself.

Authors differ concerning the original of these feathers, and by what most exact hand they were first appointed to this particular use; and as their original is hard to be found, so it seems a difficulty to resolve from what sort of bird these feathers are obtained: some have named one, some another; but the most learned in those climates call it by a hard word, which the printer having no letters to express, and being in that place hieroglyphical, I can translate no better than by the name of a Collective: this must be a strange bird without doubt; it has heads, claws, eyes, and teeth innumerable; and if I should go about to describe it to you, the history would be so romantic, it would spoil the credit of these more authentic relations which are yet behind.

It is sufficient, therefore, for the present, only to leave you this short abridgment of the story, as follows: this great monstrous bird, called the

Collective, is very seldom seen, and indeed never but upon great revolutions, and portending terrible desolations and destructions to a country.

But he frequently sheds his feathers, and they are carefully picked up by the proprietors of those lands where they fall; for none but those proprietors may meddle with them; and they no sooner pick them up but they are sent to court, where they obtain a new name, and are called in a word equally difficult to pronounce as the other, but very like our English word Representative; and being placed in their proper rows, with the great feather in the centre, and fitted for use, they lately obtained the venerable title of the Consolidators; and the machine itself, the Consolidator; and by that name the reader is desired for the future to let it be dignified and distinguished.

I cannot, however, forbear to descant a little here on the dignity and beauty of these feathers, being such as are hardly to be seen in any part of the world, but just in these remote climates.

And first, every feather has various colours, and according to the variety of the weather, are apt to look brighter and clearer, or paler and fainter, as the sun happens to look on them with a stronger or weaker aspect. The quill or head of every feather is or ought to be full of a vigorous substance, which gives spirit, and supports the brightness and colour of the feather; and as this is more or less in quantity, the bright colour of the feather is increased, or turns languid and pale.

It is true some of those quills are exceeding empty and dry; and the humid being totally exhaled, those feathers grow very useless and insignificant in a short time.

Some again are so full of wind, and puffed up with the vapour of the climate, that there is not humid

enough to condense the steam; and these are so fleet, so light, and so continually fluttering and troublesome, that they greatly serve to disturb and keep the motion unsteady.

Others, either placed too near the inward concealed fire, or the head of the quill being thin, the fire causes too great a fermentation; and the consequence of this is so fatal, that sometimes it mounts the engine up too fast, and endangers precipitation: but it is happily observed, that these ill feathers are but a very few, compared to the whole number; at the most, I never heard they were above a hundred and thirty-four of the whole number: as for the empty ones, they are not very dangerous, but a sort of good-for-nothing feathers, that will fly when the greatest number of the rest fly, or stand still when they stand still. The fluttering hotheaded feathers are the most dangerous, and frequently struggle hard to mount the engine to extravagant heights; but still the greater number of the feathers being stanch, and well fixed, as well as well furnished, they always prevail, and check the disorders the other would bring upon the motion; so that upon the whole matter, though there has sometimes been oblique motions, variations, and sometimes great wanderings out of the way, which may make the passage tedious, yet it has always been a certain and safe voyage; and no engine was ever known to miscarry or overthrow, but that one mentioned before, and that was very much owing to the precipitate methods the prince took in guiding it; and though all the fault was laid in the feathers, and they were to blame enough, yet I never heard any wise man but what blamed his discretion; and particularly, a certain great man has wrote three large tracts of those affairs, and called them, The History of the Opposition of the Feathers: wherein, though

it was expected he would have cursed the engine itself and all the feathers to the devil, on the contrary, he lays equal blame on the prince, who guided the chariot with so unsteady a hand, now as much too slack, as then too hard, turning them this way and that so hastily that the feathers could not move in their proper order; and this at last put the fire in the centre quite out, and so the engine overset at once. This impartiality has done great justice to the feathers, and set things in a clearer light: but of this I shall say more, when I come to treat of the works of the learned in this lunar world.

This is hinted here only to inform the reader, that this engine is the safest passage that ever was found out; and that, saving that one time, it never miscarried; nor, if the common order of things be observed, cannot miscarry; for the good feathers are always negatives when any precipitant motion is felt, and immediately suppress it by their number; and these negative feathers are indeed the traveller's safety: the other are always upon the flutter, and upon every occasion, hey for the moon, up in the clouds presently; but these negative feathers are never for going up but when there is occasion for it; and from hence these fluttering fermented feathers were called by the ancients high-flying feathers, and the blustering things seemed proud of the name.

But to come to their general character, the feathers, speaking of them all together, are generally very comely, strong, large, beautiful things, their quills or heads well fixed, and the cavities filled with a solid substantial matter, which, though it is full of spirit, has a great deal of temperament, and full of suitable well-disposed powers to the operation for which they are designed.

These, placed, as I noted before, in an extended

form like two great wings, and operated by that sublime flame, which, being concealed in proper receptacles, obtains its vent at the cavities appointed, are supplied from thence with life and motion; and as fire itself, in the opinion of some learned men, is nothing but motion, and motion tends to fire, it can no more be a wonder, if exalted in the centre of this famous engine, a whole nation should be carried up to the world in the moon.

It is true this engine is frequently assaulted with fierce winds and furious storms, which sometimes drive it a great way out of its way; and indeed, considering the length of the passage and the various regions it goes through, it would be strange if it should meet with no obstructions. These are oblique gales, and cannot be said to blow from any of the thirty-two points, but retrograde and thwart; some of these are called in their language, Pensionazima, which is as much as to say, being interpreted, a court-breeze; another sort of wind, which generally blows directly contrary to the Pensionazima, is the Clamorio, or in English, a country-gale; this is generally tempestuous, full of gusts and disgusts, squalls and sudden blasts, not without claps of thunder, and not a little flashing of heat and party fires.

There are a great many other internal blasts, which proceed from the fire within, which, sometimes not circulating right, breaks out in little gusts of wind and heat, and is apt to endanger setting fire to the feathers: and this is more or less dangerous according as among which of the feathers it happens; for some of the feathers are more apt to take fire than others, as their quills or heads are more or less full of that solid matter mentioned before.

The engine suffers frequent convulsions and dis-

orders from these several winds; and which, if they chance to overblow very much, hinder the passage; but the negative feathers always apply temper and moderation; and this brings all to rights again.

For a body like this, what can it not do? what cannot such an extension perform in the air? and when one thing is tacked to another, and properly consolidated into one mighty consolidator, no question but whoever shall go up to the moon, will find himself so improved in this wonderful experiment, that not a man ever performed that wonderful flight, but he certainly came back again as wise as he went.

Well, gentlemen, and what if we are called high-fliers now, and a hundred names of contempt and distinction, what is this to the purpose? who would not be a high-flier, to be tacked and consolidated in an engine of such sublime elevation, and which lifts men, monarchs, members, yea, and whole nations, up into the clouds; and performs with such wondrous art, the long-expected experiment of a voyage to the moon? And thus much for the description of the Consolidator.

The first voyage I ever made to this country was in one of these engines, and I can safely affirm I never waked all the way; and now, having been as often there as most that have used that trade, it may be expected I should give some account of the country; for it appears I can give but little of the road.

Only this I understand, that when this engine, by help of these artificial wings, has raised itself up to a certain height, the wings are as useful to keep it from falling into the moon, as they were before to raise it, and keep it from falling back into this region again.

This may happen from an alteration of centres, and gravity having passed a certain line, the equipoise

changes its tendency; the magnetic quality being beyond it, it inclines of course, and pursues a centre, which it finds in the lunar world, and lands us safe upon the surface.

I was told I need take no bills of exchange with me, nor letters of credit, for that upon my first arrival the inhabitants would be very civil to me; that they never suffered any of our world to want anything when they came there; that they were very free to show them anything, and inform them in all needful cases; and that whatever rarities the country afforded, should be exposed immediately.

I shall not enter into the customs, geography, or history of the place, only acquaint the reader that I found no manner of difference in anything natural, except as hereafter excepted, but all was exactly as is here, an elementary world, peopled with folks as like us as if they were only inhabitants of the same continent, but in a remote climate.

The inhabitants were men, women, beasts, birds, fishes, and insects, of the same individual species as ours, the latter excepted; the men no wiser, better, nor bigger than here; the women no handsomer or honester than ours; there were knaves and honest men, honest women and whores, of all sorts, countries, nations, and kindreds, as on this side the skies.

They had the same sun to shine, the planets were equally visible as to us, and their astrologers were as busily impertinent as ours; only that those wonderful glasses, hinted before, made strange discoveries that we were unacquainted with. By them they could plainly discover that this world was their moon, and their world our moon; and when I came first among them, the people that flocked about me distinguished me by the name of the Man that came out of the Moon.

I cannot, however, but acquaint the reader with

some remarks I made in this new world, before I come to any thing historical.

I have heard that among the generality of our people, who, being not much addicted to revelation, have much concerned themselves about demonstrations, a generation have risen up, who, to solve the difficulties of supernatural systems, imagine a mighty vast something, who has no form but what represents him to them as one great eye. This infinite optic they imagine to be Natura Naturans, or power-forming; and that as we pretend the soul of man has a similitude in quality to its original, according to a notion some people have, who read that so-much-ridiculed old legend, called Bible, that man was made in the image of his Maker: the soul of man, therefore, in the opinion of these naturalists, is one vast optic power diffused through him into all his parts, but seated principally in his head.

From hence they resolve all beings to eyes, some more capable of sight and receptive of objects than others; and as to things invisible, they reckon nothing so, only so far as our sight is deficient, contracted, or darkened by accidents from without, as distance of place, interposition of vapours, clouds, liquid air, exhalations, &c.; or from within, as wandering errors, wild notions, cloudy understandings, and empty fancies, with a thousand other interposing obstacles to the sight, which darken it, and prevent its operation, and particularly obstruct the perceptive faculties, weaken the head, and bring mankind in general to stand in need of the spectacles of education as soon as ever they are born: nay, and as soon as they have made use of these artificial eyes, all they can do is but to clear the sight so far as to see that they can't see; the utmost wisdom of mankind, and the highest improvement a man ought to wish for, being but to be able to see that he was born blind.

This pushes him upon search after mediums for the recovery of his sight, and away he runs to school to art and science, and there he is furnished with horoscopes, microscopes, telescopes, cœliscopes, money-scopes, and the d——l and all of glasses, to help and assist his moon-blind understanding. These, with wonderful skill, and ages of application, after wandering through bogs and wildernesses of guess, conjectures, supposes, calculations, and he knows not what, which he meets with in physics, politics, ethics, astronomy, mathematics, and such sort of bewildering things, bring him with vast difficulty to a little, minute spot, called Demonstration; and as not one in ten thousand ever finds the way thither, but are lost in the tiresome uncouth journey, so they that do, it is so long before they come there, that they are grown old and good for little in the journey; and no sooner have they obtained a glimmering of this universal eyesight, this eclaircissement general, but they die, and have hardly time to show the way to those that come after.

Now as the earnest search after this thing called demonstration filled me with desires of seeing everything, so my observations of the strange multitude of mysteries I met with in all men's actions here, spurred my curiosity to examine, if the great eye of the world had no people to whom he had given a clearer eyesight, or, at least, that made a better use of it than we had here.

If, pursuing this search, I was much delighted at my arrival into China, it cannot be thought strange; since there we find knowledge as much advanced beyond our common pitch, as it was pretended to be derived from a more ancient original.

We are told, that in the early age of the world, the strength of invention exceeded all that ever has been arrived to since: that we, in these latter ages,

having lost all that pristine strength of reason and invention, which died with the ancients in the Flood, and receiving no helps from that age, have by long search arrived at several remote parts of knowledge, by the helps of reading, conversation, and experience; but that all amounts to no more than faint imitations, apings, and resemblances of what was known in those masterly ages.

Now if it be true, as is hinted before, that the Chinese empire was peopled long before the flood, and that they were not destroyed in the general deluge in the days of Noah; it is no such strange thing that they should so much outdo us in this sort of eyesight we call general knowledge, since the perfections bestowed on nature, when in her youth and prime, met with no general suffocation by that calamity.

But if I was extremely delighted with the extraordinary things I saw in those countries, you cannot but imagine I was exceedingly moved when I heard of a lunar world; and that the way was passable from these parts.

I had heard of a world in the moon among some of our learned philosophers, and Moore, as I have been told, had a moon in his head; but none of the fine pretenders, no, not bishop Wilkins, ever found mechanic engines whose motion was sufficient to attempt the passage. A late happy author, indeed, among his mechanic operations of the spirit, had found out an enthusiasm, which if he could have pursued to its proper extreme, without doubt might either in the body, or out of the body, have landed him somewhere hereabout; but that he formed his system wholly upon the mistaken notion of wind, which learned hypothesis being directly contrary to the nature of things in this climate, where the elasticity of the air is quite different, and where the pressure

of the atmosphere has, for want of vapour, no force, all his notion dissolved in its native vapour called wind, and flew upward in blue streaks of a livid flame called blasphemy, which burnt up all the wit and fancy of the author, and left a strange stench behind it, that has this unhappy quality in it, that everybody that reads the book, smells the author, though he be never so far off; nay, though he took shipping to Dublin, to secure his friends from the least danger of a conjecture.

But to return to the happy regions of the lunar continent; I was no sooner landed there, and had looked about me, but I was surprised with the strange alteration of the climate and country; and particularly a strange salubrity and fragrancy in the air, which I felt so nourishing, so pleasant and delightful, that though I could perceive some small respiration, it was hardly discernible, and the least requisite for life, supplied so long that the bellows of nature were hardly employed.

But as I shall take occasion to consider this in a critical examination into the nature, uses, and advantages of good lungs, of which by itself, so I think fit to confine my present observations to things more particularly concerning the eyesight.

I was, you may be sure, not a little surprised, when being upon an eminence I found myself capable, by common observation, to see and distinguish things at the distance of a hundred miles and more; and seeking some information on this point, I was acquainted by the people, that there was a certain grave philosopher hard by, that could give me a very good account of things.

It is not worth while to tell you this man's lunar name, or whether he had a name or no; it is plain it was a man in the moon; but all the conference I had with him was very strange. At my first coming

to him, he asked me if I came from the world in the moon. I told him, no: at which he began to be angry; told me I lied; he knew whence I came as well as I did, for he saw me all the way. I told him I came to the world in the moon, and began to be as surly as he. It was a long time before we could agree about it; he would have it that I came down from the moon; and I, that I came up to the moon: from this, we came to explications, demonstrations, spheres, globes, regions, atmospheres, and a thousand odd diagrams, to make the thing out to one another. I insisted on my part, as that my experiment qualified me to know, and challenged him to go back with me to prove it. He, like a true philosopher, raised a thousand scruples, conjectures, and spherical problems, to confront me; and as for demonstrations, he called them fancies of my own. Thus we differed a great many ways; both of us were certain, and both uncertain; both right, and yet both directly contrary: how to reconcile this jangle was very hard, till at last this demonstration happened; the moon, as he called it, turning her blind side upon us three days after the change, by which, with the help of his extraordinary glasses, I, that knew the country, perceived that side the sun looked upon was all moon, and the other was all world; and either I fancied I saw, or else really saw, all the lofty towers of the immense cities of China. Upon this, and a little more debate, we came to this conclusion, and there the old man and I agreed, that they were both moons and both worlds, this a moon to that, and that a moon to this, like the sun between two looking-glasses; and shone upon one another by reflection, according to the oblique or direct position of each other.

This afforded us a great deal of pleasure, for all the world covet to be found in the right, and are

pleased when their notions are acknowledged by their antagonists; it also afforded us many very useful speculations, such as these:—

1. How easy it is for men to fall out, and yet all sides to be in the right.

2. How natural it is for opinion to despise demonstration.

3. How proper mutual inquiry is to mutual satisfaction.

From the observation of these glasses, we also drew some puns, crotchets, and conclusions.

1st. That the whole world has a blind side, a dark side, and a bright side, and consequently so has everybody in it.

2ndly. That the dark side of affairs to-day, may be the bright side to-morrow; from whence abundance of useful morals were also raised; such as,—

1. No man's fate is so dark, but when the sun shines upon it, it will return its rays and shine for itself.

2. All things turn like the moon, up to-day, down to-morrow, full and change, flux and reflux.

3. Human understanding is like the moon at the first quarter, half dark.

3dly. The changing sides ought not to be thought so strange, or so much condemned by mankind, having its original from the lunar influence, and governed by the powerful operation of heavenly motion.

4thly. If there be any such thing as destiny in the world, I know nothing man is so predestinated to, as to be eternally turning round; and but that I purpose to entertain the reader with at least a whole chapter or section of the philosophy of human motion, spherically and hypercritically examined and calculated, I should enlarge upon that thought in this place.

Having thus jumped in our opinions, and per-

fectly satisfied ourselves with demonstration that these worlds were sisters, both in form, function, and all their capacities; in short, a pair of moons, and a pair of worlds, equally magnetical, sympathetical, and influential; we set up our rest as to that affair, and went forward.

I desired no better acquaintance in my new travels than this new associate; never was there such a couple of people met; he was the man in the moon to me, and I the man in the moon to him; he wrote down all I said, and made a book of it, and called it, News from the World in the Moon; and all the town is like to see my minutes under the same title; nay, and I have been told he published some such bold truths there, from the allegorical relations he had of me from our world, that he was called before the public authority, who could not bear the just reflections of his damned satirical way of writing; and there they punished the poor man, put him in prison, ruined his family; and not only fined him *ultra tenementum*, but exposed him in the high places of their capital city for the mob to laugh at him for a fool. This is a punishment not unlike our pillory, and was appointed for mean criminals, fellows that cheat and cozen people, forge writings, forswear themselves, and the like; and the people, that it was expected would have treated this man very ill, on the contrary, pitied him, wished those that set him there placed in his room, and expressed their affections by loud shouts and acclamations when he was taken down.

But as this happened before my next visit to that world, when I came there all was over with him, his particular enemies were disgraced and turned out, and the man was not at all the worse received by his country folks than he was before; and so much for the man in the moon.

After we had settled the debate between us, about the nature and quality, I desired him to show me some plan or draft of this new world of his; upon which he brought me out a pair of very beautiful globes, and there I had an immediate geographical description of the place.

I found it less by —— degrees than our terrestrial globe, but more land and less water; and as I was particularly concerned to see something in or near the same climate with ourselves, I observed a large extended country to the north, about the latitude of 50 to 56° northern distance; and inquiring of that country, he told me it was one of the best countries in all their world: that it was his native climate, and he was just agoing to it, and would take me with him.

He told me, in general, the country was good, wholesome, fruitful, rarely situate for trade, extraordinarily accommodated with harbours, rivers, and bays for shipping; full of inhabitants, for it had been peopled from all parts, and had in it some of the blood of all the nations in the moon.

He told me, as the inhabitants were the most numerous, so they were the strangest people that lived; both their natures, tempers, qualities, actions, and way of living, was made up of innumerable contradictions; that they were the wisest fools, and the foolishest wise men in the world; the weakest strongest, richest poorest, most generous covetous, bold cowardly, false faithful, sober dissolute, surly civil, slothful diligent, peaceable quarrelling, loyal seditious nation that ever was known.

Besides my observations which I made myself, and which could only furnish me with what was present, and which I shall take time to inform my reader with as much care and conciseness as pos-

sible, I was beholding to this old lunarian for everything that was historical or particular.

And first, he informed me that in this new country they had very seldom any clouds at all, and consequently no extraordinary storms, but a constant serenity; moderate breezes cooled the air, and constant evening exhalations kept the earth moist and fruitful; and as the winds they had were various, and strong enough to assist their navigation, so they were without the terrors, dangers, shipwrecks and destructions, which he knew we were troubled with in this our lunar world, as he called it.

The first just observation I made of this was, that I supposed from hence the wonderful clearness of the air, and the advantage of so vast optic capacities they enjoyed, was obtained: Alas! says the old fellow, you see nothing to what some of our great eyes see in some parts of this world, nor do you see anything compared to what you may see by the help of some new invented glasses, of which I may in time let you see the experiment; and perhaps you may find this to be the reason why we do not so abound in books as in your lunar world; and that, except it be some extraordinary translations out of your country, you will find but little in our libraries worth giving you a great deal of trouble.

We immediately quitted the philosophical discourse of winds, and I began to be mighty inquisitive after these glasses and translations, and—

1st. I understood here was a strange sort of glass, that did not so much bring to the eye, as, by I know not what wonderful operation, carried out the eye to the object, and quite varies from all our doctrine of optics, by forming several strange phenomena in sight which we are utterly unacquainted

with; nor could vision, rarefication, or any of our schoolmen's fine terms, stand me in any stead in this case; but here was such additions of piercing organs, particles of transparence, emission, transmission, mediums, contraction of rays, and a thousand applications of things prepared for the wondrous operation, that you may be sure are requisite for the bringing to pass something yet unheard of on this side the moon.

First, we were informed by the help of these glasses, strange things, which pass in our world for nonentities, are to be seen, and very perceptible; for example:—

State polity, in all its meanders, shifts, turns, tricks, and contraries, is so exactly delineated and described, that they are in hopes in time to draw a pair of globes out, to bring all those things to a certainty.

Not but that it made some puzzle, even among these clearsighted nations, to determine what figure the plans and drafts of this undiscovered world of mysteries ought to be described in. Some were of opinion, it ought to be an irregular centagon, a figure with a hundred cones or angles; since the unaccountables of this state science are hid in a million of undiscovered corners, as the craft, subtilty, and hypocrisy of knaves and courtiers have concealed them, never to be found out but by this wonderful d——lscope, which seemed to threaten a perfect discovery of all those nudities, which have lain hid in the embryo, and false conceptions of abortive policy, ever since the foundation of the world.

Some were of opinion this plan ought to be circular, and in a globular form, since it was on all sides alike, full of dark spots, untrod mazes, waking mischiefs, and sleeping mysteries; and, being de-

lineated like the globes displayed, would discover all the lines of wickedness to the eye at one view: besides, they fancied some sort of analogy in the rotundity of the figure with the continued circular motion of all court policies in the stated round of universal knavery.

Others would have had it hieroglyphical, as by a hand in hand, the form representing the affinity between state policy here and state policy in the infernal regions, with some unkind similes between the economy of Satan's kingdom and those of most of the temporal powers on earth; but this was thought too unkind. At last it was determined that neither of these schemes were capable of the vast description, and that, therefore, the drafts must be made single, though not dividing the governments, yet dividing the arts of governing into proper distinct schemes, viz.—

1. A particular plan of public faith; and here we had the experiment immediately made: the representation is qualified for the meridian of any country, as well in our world as theirs; and turning it towards our own world, there I saw plainly an exchequer shut up, and twenty thousand mourning families selling their coaches, horses, whores, equipages, &c., for bread, the government standing by laughing, and looking on: hard by I saw the chamber of a great city shut up, and forty thousand orphans turned adrift in the world; some had no clothes, some no shoes, some no money; and still the city magistrates calling upon other orphans to pay their money in. These things put me in mind of the prophet Ezekiel, and methought I heard the same voice that spoke to him, calling me, and telling me, *Come hither, and I will show thee greater abominations than these:* so looking still on that vast map, by the help of these magnifying-

glasses, I saw huge fleets hired for transport service, but never paid; vast taxes anticipated, that were never collected; others collected and appropriated, but misapplied; millions of tallies struck to be discounted, and the poor paying forty per cent. to receive their money. I saw huge quantities of money drawn in, and little or none issued out; vast prizes taken from the enemy, and then taken away again at home by friends; ships saved on the sea, and sunk in the prize offices; merchants escaping from enemies at sea, and bepirated by sham embargoes, counterfeit claims, confiscations, &c., ashore: there we saw Turkey fleets taken into convoys, and guarded to the very mouth of the enemy, and then abandoned for their better security: here we saw Mons. Pouchartrain shutting up the town-house of Paris, and plundering the bank of Lyons.

2. Here we saw the state of the war among nations; here was the French giving sham thanks for victories they never got, and somebody else addressing and congratulating the sublime glory of running away; here was Te Deum for sham victories by land, and there was thanksgiving for ditto by sea; here we might see two armies fight, both run away, and both come and thank God for nothing. Here we saw a plan of a late war, like that in Ireland; there was all the officers cursing a Dutch general, because the damned rogue would fight and spoil a good war, that, with decent management and good husbandry, might have been eked out this twenty years; there were whole armies hunting two cows to one Irishman, and driving of black cattle declared the noble end of the war. Here we saw a country full of stone walls and strong towns, where, every campaign, the trade of war was carried on by the soldiers with the same intriguing as it was carried on in the council-chambers; there was

millions of contributions raised, and vast sums collected, but no taxes lessened; whole plate-fleets surprised, but no treasure found; vast sums lost by enemies, and yet never found by friends; ships loaded with volatile silver, that came away full and got home empty; whole voyages made to beat nobody, and plunder everybody; two millions robbed from the honest merchants, and not a groat saved for the honest subjects. There we saw captains listing men with the government's money, and letting them go again for their own; ships fitted out at the rate of two millions a year, to fight but once in three years, and then run away for want of powder and shot.

There we saw partition treaties damned, and the whole given away, confederacies without allies, allies without quotas, princes without armies, armies without men, and men without money, crowns without kings, kings without subjects, more kings than countries, and more countries than were worth fighting for.

Here we could see the king of France upbraiding his neighbours with dishonourably assisting his rebels, though the mischief was, they did it not neither; and, in the same breath, assisting the Hungarian rebels against the emperor; M. Ld. N. refusing so dishonourable an action as to aid the rebellious Camisars, but leaguing with the admirant de Castile to invade the dominions of his master, to whom he swore allegiance. Here we saw protestants fight against protestants, to help papists: papists against papists, to help protestants; protestants call in Turks, to keep faith against Christians that break it: here we could see Swedes fighting for revenge, and call it religion; cardinals deposing their catholic prince, to introduce the tyranny of a Lutheran, and call it liberty; armies electing kings,

and call it free choice; French conquering Savoy, to secure the liberty of Italy.

3. The map of state policy contains abundance of civil transactions, nowhere to be discovered but in this wonderful country, and by this prodigious invention: as first, it shows an eminent prelate running in everybody's debt to relieve the poor, and bring to God robbery for burnt-offering: it opens a door to the fate of nations: and there we might see the duke of S——y bought three times, and his subjects sold every time; Portugal bought twice, and neither time worth the earnest; Spain bought once, but loath to go with the bidder; Venice willing to be bought, if there had been any buyers; Bavaria bought, and run away with the money; the emperor bought and sold, but bilked the chapman; the French buying kingdoms he cannot keep, the Dutch keep kingdoms they never bought; and the English paying their money without purchase.

In matters of civil concerns, here was to be seen religion with no outside, and much outside with no religion; much strife about peace, and no peace in the design: here was plunder without violence, violence without persecution, conscience without good works, and good works without charity; parties cutting one another's throats for God's sake, pulling down churches *de propaganda fide*, and making divisions by way of association.

Here we have peace and union brought to pass the shortest way; extirpation and destruction proved to be the road to plenty and pleasure: here all the wise nations a learned author would have quoted, if he could have found them, are to be seen, who carry on exclusive laws to the general safety and satisfaction of their subjects.

Occasional bills may have here a particular his-

torical, categorical description: but of them by themselves.

Here you might have the rise, original, lawfulness, usefulness, and necessity of passive obedience, as fairly represented as a system of divinity, and as clearly demonstrated as by a geographical description; and, which exceeds our mean understanding here, it is, by the wonderful assistance of these glasses, plainly discerned to be coherent with resistance, taking arms, calling in foreign powers, and the like. Here you have a plain discovery of C. of E. politics, and a map of loyalty: here it is as plainly demonstrated as the nose in a man's face, provided he has one, that a man may abdicate, drive away, and dethrone his prince, and yet be absolutely and entirely free from, and innocent of, the least fracture, breach, encroachment, or intrenchment upon the doctrine of non-resistance: can shoot at his prince without any design to kill him, fight against him without raising rebellion, and take up arms, without levying war against his prince.

Here they can persecute dissenters, without desiring they should conform,—conform to the church they would overthrow, pray for the prince they dare not name, and name the prince they do not pray for.

By the help of these glasses strange insights are made into the vast, mysterious, dark world of state policy; but that which is yet more strange, and requires vast volumes to descend to the particulars of, and huge diagrams, spheres, charts, and a thousand nice things to display, is, that in this vast intelligent discovery, it is not only made plain that those things are so, but all the vast contradictions are made rational, reconciled to practice, and brought down to demonstration.

German clockwork, the perpetual motions, the prim mobilies of our shortsighted world, are trifles to these nicer disquisitions.

Here it would be plain and rational, why a parliament-man will spend 5000*l.* to be chosen, that cannot get a groat honestly by sitting there: it would be easily made out to be rational, why he that rails most at a court is soonest received into it: here it would be very plain, how great estates are got in little places, and double in none at all: it is easy to be proved honest and faithful to victual the French fleet out of English stores, and let our own navy want them. A long sight, or a large lunar perspective, will make all these things not only plain in fact, but rational and justifiable to all the world.

It is a strange thing to anybody, without doubt, that has not been in that clearsighted region, to comprehend, that those we call high-fliers in England are the only friends to the dissenters, and have been the most diligent and faithful in their interest, of any people in the nation; and yet so it is, gentlemen, and they ought to have the thanks of the whole body for it.

In this advanced station, we see it plainly by reflection, that the dissenters, like a parcel of knaves, have retained all the high-churchmen in their pay; they are certainly all in their pension-roll: indeed, I could not see the money paid them there, it was too remote; but I could plainly see the thing; all the deep lines of the project are laid as true, they are so tacked and consolidated together, that if any one will give themselves leave to consider, they will be most effectually convinced that the high church and the dissenters here, are all in a cabal, a mere knot, a piece of clockwork; the dissenters are the dial-plate, and the high church the movement,

the wheel within the wheels, the spring and the screw to bring all things to motion, and make the hand on the dial-plate point which way the dissenters please.

For what else have been all the shams they have put upon the governments, kings, states, and people they have been concerned with? what schemes have they laid on purpose to be broken? what vast contrivances, on purpose to be ridiculed and exposed? The men are not fools, they had never v——d to consolidate a b——, but that they were willing to save the dissenters, and put it into a posture in which they were sure it would miscarry. I defy all the wise men of the moon to show another good reason for it.

Methinks I begin to pity my brethren, the moderate men of the church, that they cannot see into this new plot, and to wish they would but get up into our Consolidator, and take a journey to the moon, and there, by the help of these glasses, they would see the allegorical, symbolical, heterodoxicality of all this matter; it would make immediate converts of them; they would see plainly, that to tack and consolidate, to make exclusive laws, to persecute for conscience, disturb, and distress parties; these are all fanatic plots, mere combinations against the church, to bring her into contempt, and to fix and establish the dissenters to the end of the chapter: but of this I shall find occasion to speak occasionally, when an occasion presents itself to examine a certain occasional bill, transacting in these lunar regions, some time before I had the happiness to arrive there.

In examining the multitude and variety of these most admirable glasses for the assisting the optics, or indeed the formation of a new perceptive faculty, it was, you may be sure, most surprising, to find

there that art had exceeded nature; and the power of vision was assisted to that prodigious degree, as even to distinguish nonentity itself; and in these strange engines of light it could not but be very pleasing, to distinguish plainly betwixt being and matter, and to come to a determination in the so-long-canvassed dispute of substance, *vel materialis, vel spiritualis*; and I can solidly affirm, that in all our contention between entity and nonentity, there is so little worth meddling with, that had we had these glasses some ages ago, we should have left troubling our heads with it.

I take upon me, therefore, to assure my reader, that whoever pleases to take a journey, or voyage, or flight, up to these lunar regions, as soon as ever he comes ashore there, will presently be convinced of the reasonableness of immaterial substance, and the immortality, as well as immateriality of the soul: he will no sooner look into these explicating glasses, but he will be able to know the separate meaning of body, soul, spirit, life, motion, death, and a thousand things that wise men puzzle themselves about here, because they are not fools enough to understand.

Here, too, I find glasses for the second sight, as our old women call it. This second sight has been often pretended to in our regions, and some famous old wives have told us they can see death, the soul, futurity, and the neighbourhood of them, in the countenance. By this wonderful art, these good people unfold strange mysteries, as under some irrecoverable disease, to foretell death; under hypocondriac melancholy, to presage trouble of mind; in pining youth, to predict contagious love; and a hundred other infallibilities, which never fail to be true as soon as ever they come to pass, and are all grounded upon the same infallibility by which a

shepherd may always know when any one of his sheep is rotten, viz., when he shakes himself to pieces.

But all this guess and uncertainty is a trifle to the vast discoveries of these explicatory optic glasses: for here are seen the nature and consequences of secret mysteries: here are read strange mysteries relating to predestination, eternal decrees, and the like: here it is plainly proved, that predestination is, in spite of all enthusiastic pretences, so entirely committed into man's power, that whoever pleases to hang himself to-day, won't live till to-morrow; no, though forty predestination prophets were to tell him, his time was not yet come. These abstruse points are commonly and solemnly discussed here; and these people are such heretics, that they say God's decrees are all subservient to the means of his providence; that what we call providence is a subjecting all things to the great chain of causes and consequences, by which that one grand decree, that all effects shall obey, without reserve, to their proper moving causes, supersedes all subsequent doctrines, or pretended decrees, or predestination in the world: that by this rule, he that will kill himself, God, nature, providence, or decree, will not be concerned to hinder him, but he shall die; any decrees, predestination, or foreknowledge of infinite power to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding; that it is in a man's power to throw himself into the water, and be drowned; and to kill another man, and he shall die; and to say, God appointed it, is to make him the author of murder, and to injure the murderer, in putting him to death for what he could not help doing.

All these things are received truths here, and no doubt would be so everywhere else, if the eyes of reason were opened to the testimony of nature, or

if they had the helps of these most incomparable glasses.

Some pretended, by the help of these second-sight glasses, to see the common periods of life; and others said they could see a great way beyond the leap in the dark: I confess, all I could see of the first was, that holding up the glass against the sea, I plainly saw, as it were on the edge of the horizon, these words:

The verge of life and death is here.
'Tis best to know where 'tis, but not how far.

As to seeing beyond death, all the glasses I looked into for that purpose, made but little of it; and these were the only tubes that I found defective; for here I could discern nothing but clouds, mists, and thick, dark, hazy weather; but revolving in my mind, that I had read a certain book in our own country, called Nature, it presently occurred, that the conclusion of it, to all such as gave themselves the trouble of making out those foolish things called inferences, was always, Look up; upon which, turning one of their glasses up, and erecting the point of it towards the zenith, I saw these words in the air, REVELATION, in large capital letters.

I had like to have raised the mob upon me for looking upright with this glass; for this, they said, was prying into the mysteries of the great eye of the world; that we ought to inquire no further than he has informed us, and to believe what he had left us more obscure: upon this, I laid down the glasses, and concluded, that we had Moses and the prophets, and should be never the likelier to be taught by one come from the moon.

In short, I found, indeed, they had a great deal more knowledge of things than we in this world; and that nature, science, and reason, had obtained

great improvements in the lunar world; but as to religion, it was the same, equally resigned to and concluded in faith and redemption; so I shall give the world no great information of these things.

I come next to some other strange acquirements obtained by the helps of these glasses; and particularly for the discerning the imperceptibles of nature; such as, the soul, thought, honesty, religion, virginity, and a hundred other nice things, too small for human discerning.

The discoveries made by these glasses, as to the soul, are of a very diverting variety; some hieroglyphical and emblematical, and some demonstrative.

The hieroglyphical discoveries of the soul make it appear in the image of its Maker; and the analogy is remarkable, even in the very simile; for as they represent the original of nature as one great eye, illuminating as well as discerning all things; so the soul, in its allegorical, or hieroglyphical resemblance, appears as a great eye, embracing the man, enveloping, operating, and informing every part; from whence those sort of people who we falsely call politicians, affecting so much to put out this great eye, by acting against their common understandings, are very aptly represented by a great eye with six or seven pair of spectacles on; not but that the eye of their souls may be clear enough of itself, as to the common understanding; but that they happen to have occasion to look sometimes so many ways at once, and to judge, conclude, and understand so many contrary ways upon one and the same thing, that they are fain to put double glasses upon their understanding, as we look at the solar eclipses, to represent them in different lights, lest their judgments should not be wheedled into a compliance with the hellish resolutions of their wills; and this

is what I call the emblematic representation of the soul.

As for the demonstrations of the soul's existence, it is a plain case, by these explicative glasses, that it is: some have pretended to give us the parts; and we have heard of chirurgeons that could read an anatomical lecture on the parts of the soul; and these pretend it to be a creature in form, whether chameleon or salamander, authors have not determined; nor is it completely discovered when it comes into the body, or how it goes out, or where its locality or habitation is, while it is a resident.

But they very aptly show it, like a prince in his seat, in the middle of his palace the brain, issuing out his incessant orders to innumerable troops of nerves, sinews, muscles, tendons, veins, arteries, fibres, capilarii, and useful officers, called organici, who faithfully execute all the parts of sensation, locomotion, concoction, &c.; and in the hundred thousandth part of a moment, return with particular messages for information, and demand new instructions. If any part of his kingdom, the body, suffers a depredation, or an invasion of the enemy, the expresses fly to the seat of the soul, the brain, and immediately are ordered back to smart, that the body may of course send more messengers to complain; immediately, other expresses are despatched to the tongue, with orders to cry out, that the neighbours may come in and help, or friends send for the chirurgeon. Upon the application, and a cure, all is quiet, and the same expresses are despatched to the tongue to be hush, and say no more of it till further orders. All this is as plain to be seen in these engines, as the moon of our world from the world in the moon.

As the being, nature, and situation of human soul is thus spherically and mathematically discovered,

I could not find any second thoughts about it in all their books, whether of their own composition or by translation; for it was a general received notion, that there could not be a greater absurdity in human knowledge, than to employ the thoughts in questioning what is as plainly known by its consequences as if seen with the eye; and that to doubt the being or extent of the soul's operation, is to employ her against herself; and therefore, when I began to argue with my old philosopher, against the immateriality and immortality of this mystery we call soul, he laughed at me, and told me, he found we had none of their glasses in our world; and bid me send all our sceptics, soul-sleepers, uor Cowards, Bakers, Kings and Bakewells, up to him into the moon, if they wanted demonstrations; where, by the help of their engines, they would make it plain to them that the great eye being one vast intellect, infinite and eternal, all inferior life is a degree of himself, and as exactly represents him as one little flame the whole mass of fire; that it is therefore incapable of dissolution, being like its original in duration, as well as in its powers and faculties, but that it goes and returns by emission, regression, as the great eye governs and determines; and this was plainly made out by the figure I had seen it in, viz., an eye, the exact image of its Maker: it is true, it was darkned by ignorance, folly and crime, and therefore obliged to wear spectacles; but though these were defects or interruptions in its operation, they were none in its nature; which, as it had its immediate efflux from the great eye, its return to him must partake of himself, and could not but be of a quality uncomeatable, by casualty or death.

From this discourse we the more willingly adjourned our present thoughts, I being clearly convinced of the matter; and as for our learned doc-

tors, with their second and third thoughts, I told him I would recommend them to the man in the moon for their further illumination, which if they refused to accept, it was but just they should remain in a wood, where they are, and are like to be, puzzling themselves about demonstrations, squaring of circles, and converting oblique into right angles, to bring out a mathematical clockwork soul, that will go till the weight is down, and then stand still till they know not who must wind it up again.

However, I cannot pass over a very strange and extraordinary piece of art which this old gentleman informed me of, and that was an engine to screw a man into himself: perhaps our countrymen may be at some difficulty to comprehend these things by my dull description; and to such, I cannot but recommend a journey in my engine to the moon.

This machine that I am speaking of, contains a multitude of strange springs and screws, and a man that puts himself into it, is very insensibly carried into vast speculations, reflections, and regular debates with himself. They have a very hard name for it in those parts; but if I were to give it an English name, it should be called, the Cogitator, or the chair of reflection.

And first, the person that is seated here feels some pain in passing some negative springs, that are wound up, effectually to shut out all injecting, disturbing thoughts, and the better to prepare him for the operation that is to follow: and this is without doubt a very rational way; for when a man can absolutely shut out all manner of thinking, but what he is upon, he shall think the more intensely upon the one object before him.

This operation past, here are certain screws that draw direct lines from every angle of the engine to the brain of the man, and, at the same time, other

direct lines to his eyes; at the other end of which lines, there are glasses which convey or reflect the objects the person is desirous to think upon.

Then the main wheels are turned, which wind up according to their several offices; this the memory, that the understanding, a third the will, a fourth the thinking faculty; and these being put all into regular motions, pointed by direct lines to their proper objects, and perfectly uninterrupted by the intervention of whimsey, chimera, and a thousand fluttering demons that gender in the fancy, but are effectually locked out as before, assist one another to receive right notions, and form just ideas of the things they are directed to; and from thence the man is empowered to make right conclusions, to think and act like himself, suitable to the sublime qualities his soul was originally blest with.

There never was a man went into one of these thinking engines, but he came wiser out than he was before; and I am persuaded it would be a more effectual cure to our deism, atheism, scepticism, and all other scisms, than ever the Italian's engine for curing the gout by cutting off the toe.

This is a most wonderful engine, and performs admirably, and my author gave me extraordinary accounts of the good effects of it; and I cannot but tell my reader, that our sublunar world suffers millions of inconveniences for want of this thinking engine: I have had a great many projects in my head, how to bring our people to regular thinking, but it is in vain without this engine; and how to get the model of it I know not; how to screw up the will, the understandiug, and the rest of the powers; how to bring the eye, the thought, the fancy and the memory, into mathematical order, and obedient to mechanic operation. Help Boyle, Norris, Newton, Manton, Hammond, Tillotson, and

all the learned race! Help philosophy, divinity, physics, economics! All is in vain, a mechanic chair of reflection is the only remedy that ever I found in my life for this work.

As to the effects of mathematical thinking, what volumes might be writ of it will more easily appear, if we consider the wondrous usefulness of this engine in all human affairs; as of war, peace, justice, injuries, passion, love, marriage, trade, policy, and religion.

When a man has been screwed into himself, and brought by this art to a regularity of thought, he never commits any absurdity after it; his actions are squared by the same lines, for action is but the consequence of thinking; and he that acts before he thinks, sets human nature with the bottom upward.

M. would never have made his speech, nor the famous B——ly wrote a book, if ever they had been in this thinking engine: one would have never told us of nations he never saw, nor the other told us he had seen a great many and was never the wiser.

H. had never ruined his family to marry whore, thief, and beggar-woman, in one salliant lady, after having been told so honestly and so often of it by the very woman herself.

Our late unhappy monarch had never trusted the English clergy, when they preached up that non-resistance, which he must needs see they could never practise: had his majesty been screwed up into this Cogitator, he had presently reflected that it was against nature to expect they should stand still and let him tread upon them; that they should, whatever they had preached or pretended to, hold open their throats to have them be cut, and tie their own hands from resisting the Lord's anointed.

Had some of our clergy been screwed in this en-

gine, they had never turned martyrs for their allegiance to the late king, only for the lechery of having Dr. S—— in their company.

Had our merchants been managed in this engine, they had never trusted their Turkey fleet with a famous squadron, that took a great deal of care to convoy them safe into the enemy's hands.

Had some people been in this engine, when they had made a certain league in the world, in order to make amends for a better made before, they would certainly have considered further, before they had embarked with a nation that are neither fit to go abroad nor stay at home.

As for the thinking practised in noble speeches, occasional bills, addressings about prerogative, convocation disputes, turnings in and turnings out at ours and all the courts of Christendom, I have nothing to say to it.

Had the duke of Bavaria been in our engine, he would never have begun a quarrel which he knew all the powers of Europe were concerned to suppress, and lay all other business down till it was done.

Had the elector of Saxony passed the operation of this engine, he would never have beggared a rich electorate to ruin a beggared crown, nor sold himself for a kingdom hardly worth any man's taking: he would never have made himself less than he was, in hopes of being really no greater; and stept down from a protestant duke, and imperial elector, to be a nominal mock-king with a shadow of power, and a name without honour, dignity, or strength.

Had Mons. Tallard been in our engine, he would not only not have attacked the confederates when they passed the morass and rivulet in his front, but not have attacked them at all, nor have suffered them to have attacked him, it being his business

not to have fought at all, but have lingered out the war till the duke of Savoy having been reduced, the confederate army must have been forced to have divided themselves of course, in order to defend their own.

Some that have been very forward to have us proceed the shortest way with the Scots, may be said to stand in great need of this chair of reflection, to find out a just cause for such a war, and to make a neighbour nation making themselves secure, a sufficient reason for another neighbour nation to fall upon them: our engine would presently show it them in a clear sight, by way of parallel, that it is just with the same right as a man may break open a house because the people bar and bolt the windows.

If somebody has changed hands there from bad to worse, and opened instead of closing differences in those cases, the Cogitator might have brought them, by more regular thinking, to have known that was not at all the method of bringing the S——s to reason.

Our Cogitator would be a very necessary thing to show some people that poverty and weakness is not a sufficient ground to oppress a nation, and their having but little trade cannot be a sufficient ground to equip fleets to take away what they have.

I cannot deny that I have often thought they have had something of this engine in our neighbouring ancient kingdom, since no man, however we pretend to be angry, but will own they are in the right of it, as to themselves, to vote and procure bills for their own security, and not to do as others demand, without conditions fit to be accepted: but of that by itself.

There are abundance of people in our world, of all sorts and conditions, that stand in need of our thinking engines, and to be screwed into themselves

a little, that they might think as directly as they speak absurdly: but of these also in a class by itself.

This engine has a great deal of philosophy in it; and particularly, it is a wonderful remedy against poring; and as it was said of Mons. Jurieu at Amsterdam, that he used to lose himself in himself; by the assistance of this piece of regularity, a man is most effectually secured against bewildering thoughts, and, by direct thinking, he prevents all manner of dangerous wandering, since nothing can come to more speedy conclusions than that which in right lines points to the proper subject of debate.

All sorts of confusion of thoughts are perfectly avoided and prevented in this case, and a man is never troubled with spleen, hippo, or mute madness, when once he has been thus under the operation of the screw: it prevents abundance of capital disasters in men, in private affairs; it prevents hasty marriages, rash vows, duels, quarrels, suits at law, and most sorts of repentance. In the state, it saves a government from many inconveniences; it checks immoderate ambition, stops wars, navies, and expeditions; especially, it prevents members making long speeches when they have nothing to say; it keeps back rebellions, insurrections, clashings of houses, occasional bills, tacking, &c.

It has a wonderful property in our affairs at sea, and has prevented many a bloody fight, in which a great many honest men might have lost their lives that are now useful fellows, and help to man and manage her majesty's navy.

What if some people are apt to charge cowardice upon some people in those cases? It is plain that cannot be it, for he that dare incur the resentment of the English mob, shows more courage than would be able to carry him through forty seafights.

It is therefore for want of being in this engine,

that we censure people, because they don't be knocking one another on the head, like the people at the bear-garden; where, if they do not see the blood run about, they always cry out, A cheat; and the poor fellows are fain to cut one another, that they may not be pulled to pieces; where the case is plain, they are bold for fear, and pull up courage enough to fight, because they are afraid of the people.

This engine prevents all sorts of lunacies, love-frenzies, and melancholy madness; for, preserving the thought in right lines to direct objects, it is impossible any deliriums, whimseys, or fluttering air of ideas, can interrupt the man; he can never be mad: for which reason I cannot but recommend it to my lord S——, my lord N——, and my lord H——, as absolutely necessary to defend them from the state-madness which for some ages has possessed their families, and which runs too much in the blood.

It is also an excellent introduction to thought, and therefore very well adapted to those people whose peculiar talent and praise is, that they never think at all. Of these, if his grace of B——d would please to accept advice from the man in the moon, it should be to put himself into this engine, as a sovereign cure to the known disease called the Thoughtless Evil.

But above all, it is an excellent remedy, and very useful, to a sort of people who are always travailing in thought, but never delivered into action; who are so exceeding busy at thinking, they have no leisure for action; of whom the late poet sung well to the purpose:

——————Some modern coxcombs, who
Retire to think, 'cause they have nought to do;

For thoughts were giv'n for action's government,
Where action ceases, thought's impertinent:
The sphere of action is life's happiness,
And he that thinks beyond, thinks like an ass.
ROCHEST. Poems, p. 9.

These gentlemen would make excellent use of this engine, for it would teach them to despatch one thing before they begin another; and therefore is of singular use to honest S——, whose peculiar it was, to be always beginning projects but never finish any.

The variety of this engine, its uses, and improvements, are innumerable, and the reader must not expect I can give anything like a perfect description of it.

There are yet another sort of machine, which I never obtained a sight of till the last voyage I made to this lunar orb, and these are called Elevators: the mechanic operations of these are wonderful, and helped by fire; by which the senses are raised to all the strange extremes we can imagine, and whereby the intelligent soul is made to converse with its own species, whether embodied or not.

Those that are raised to a due pitch in this wondrous frame, have a clear prospect into the world of spirits, and converse with visions, guardian angels, spirits departed, and what not: and as this is a wonderful knowledge, and not to be obtained but by the help of this fire, so those that have tried the experiment, give strange accounts of sympathy, pre-existence of souls, dreams, and the like.

I confess I always believed a converse of spirits, and have heard of some who have experienced so much of it as they could obtain upon nobody else to believe.

I never saw any reason to doubt the existent state of the spirit before embodied, any more than I did of its immortality after it shall be uncased; and the scriptures saying, *the spirit returns to God that gave it*, implies 'a coming from,' or how could it be called 'a return.'

Nor can I see a reason why embodying a spirit should altogether interrupt its converse with the world of spirits from whence it was taken; and to what else shall we ascribe guardian-angels, in which the scripture is also plain? and from whence come secret notices, impulse of thought, pressing urgencies of inclination, to or from this or that altogether involuntary, but from some waking kind assistant wandering spirit, which gives secret hints to its fellow-creature, of some approaching evil or good, which it was not able to foresee?

For spirits without the helps of voice converse.

I know we have supplied much of this with enthusiasm and conceited revelation; but the people of this world convince us that it may be all natural, by obtaining it in a mechanic way, viz., by forming something suitable to the sublime nature, which working by art, shall only rectify the more vigorous particles of the soul, and work it up to a suitable elevation. This engine is wholly applied to the head, and works by injection; the chief influence being on what we call fancy, or imagination, which by the heat of strong ideas, is fermented to a strange height, and is thus brought to see backward and forward every way, beyond itself: by this a man fancies himself in the moon, and realizes things there as distinctly as if he was actually talking to my old philosopher.

This indeed is an admirable engine, it is composed of a hundred thousand rational consequences, five

times the number of conjectures, supposes, and probabilities, besides an innumerable company of fluttering suggestions and injections, which hover round the imagination, and are all taken in as fast as they can be concocted and digested there: these are formed into ideas, and some of those so well put together, so exactly shaped, so well dressed and set out by the additional fire of fancy, that it is no uncommon thing for the person to be entirely deceived by himself, not knowing the brat of his own begetting, nor be able to distinguish between reality and representation: from hence we have some people talking to images of their own forming, and seeing more devils and spectres than ever appeared: from hence we have weaker heads not able to bear the operation, seeing imperfect visions, as of horses and men without heads or arms, light without fire, hearing voices without sound, and noises without shapes, as their own fears or fancies broke the phenomena before the entire formation.

But the more genuine and perfect use of these vast elevations of the fancy, which are performed, as I said, by the mechanic operation of innate fire, is to guide mankind to as much foresight of things as either by nature, or by the aid of anything extranatural, may be obtained; and by this exceeding knowledge, a man shall forebode to himself approaching evil or good, so as to avoid this, or be in the way of that; and what if I should say, that the notices of these things are not only frequent, but constant, and require nothing of us, but to make use of this elevator, to keep our eyes, our ears, and our fancies open to the hints; and observe them.

You may suppose me, if you please, come by this time into those northern kingdoms I mentioned before, where my old philosopher was a native, and not to trouble you with any of the needful observa-

tions, learned inscriptions, &c., on the way, according to the laudable practices of the famous Mr. Br —— mly, it is sufficient to tell you I found there an opulent, populous, potent, and terrible people.

I found them at war with one of the greatest monarchs of the lunar world, and at the same time miserably rent and torn, mangled and disordered among themselves.

As soon as I observed the political posture of their affairs (for here a man sees things mighty soon, by the helps of such a masterly eyesight as I have mentioned), and remembering what is said for our instruction, that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand; I asked the old gentleman if he had any estate in that country? He told me, no great matter; but asked me why I put that question to him? Because, said I, if this people go on fighting and snarling at all the world, and one among another in this manner, they will certainly be ruined and undone, either subdued by some more powerful neighbour; whilst one party will stand still and see the other's throat cut, though their own turn immediately follows, or else they will destroy and devour one another. Therefore I told him I would have him turn his estate into money, and go somewhere else; or go back to the other world with me.

No, no, replied the old man, I am in no such fear at this time, the scale of affairs is very lately changed here, says he; in but a very few years.

I know nothing of that, said I, but I am sure there never was but one spot of ground in that world which I came from, that was divided like them, and that's that very country I lived in. Here are three kingdoms of you in one spot, said I, one has already been conquered and subdued; the other suppressed its native inhabitants, and planted it with her own, and now carries it with so high a hand over them

of her own breed, that she limits their trade, stops their ports; when the inhabitants have made their manufactures, these wont give them leave to send them abroad, impose laws upon them, refuse to alter and amend those they would make for themselves, make them pay customs, excises, and taxes, and yet pay the garrisons and guards that defend them, themselves; press their inhabitants to their fleets, and carry away their old veteran troops that should defend them, and leave them to raise more to be served in the same manner; will let none of their money be carried over thither, nor let them coin any of their own; and a great many such hardships they suffer under the hand of this nation, as mere slaves and conquered people, though the greatest part of the traders are the people of the very nation that treats them thus.

On the other hand, this creates eternal murmurs, heart-burnings, and regret, both in the natives and the transplanted inhabitants; the first have shown their uneasiness by frequent insurrections and rebellions, for nature prompts the meanest animal to struggle for liberty; and these struggles have often been attended with great cruelty, ravages, death, massacres, and ruin both of families and the country itself: as to the transplanted inhabitants, they run into clandestine trade, into corresponding with their masters' enemies; victualling their navies, colonies, and the like; receiving and importing their goods in spite of all the orders and directions to the contrary.

These are the effects of divisions and feuds on that side; on the other hand, there is a kingdom entire, unconquered, and independent, and for the present under the same monarch with the rest. But here their feuds are greater than with the other, and more dangerous by far, because national: this

kingdom joins to the north part of the first kingdom, and terrible divisions lie among the two nations.

The people of these two kingdoms are called, if you please for distinction sake, for I cannot well make you understand their hard names, Solunarians and Nolunarians, these to the south and those to the north, the Solunarians were divided in their articles of religion; the governing party, or the established church, I shall call the Solunarian church; but the whole kingdom was full of a sort of religious people called Crolians, who, like our dissenters in England, profess divers subdivided opinions by themselves, and could not, or would not, let it go which way it will, join with the established church.

On the other hand, the established church in the northern kingdom was all Crolians, but full of Solunarians in opinions, who were dissenters there, as the Crolians were dissenters in the south, and this unhappy mixture occasioned endless feuds, divisions, subdivisions, and animosities without number, of which hereafter.

The northern men are bold, terrible, numerous, and brave, to the last degree, but poor, and, by the encroachments of their neighbours, growing poorer every day.

The southern are equally brave, more numerous, and terrible, but wealthy; and care not for wars, had rather stay at home and quarrel with one another, than go abroad to fight, making good an old maxim, Too poor to agree, and yet too rich to fight.

Between these the feud is great, and every day growing greater; and those people who pretend to have been in the Cogitator, or thinking engine, tell us, all the lines of consequences in that affair point at a fatal period between the kingdoms.

The complaints also are great, and backed with

fiery arguments on both sides; the northern men say, the Solunarians have dealt unjustly and unkindly by them in several articles; but the southern men reply with a most powerful argument, viz. they are poor, and therefore ought to be oppressed, suppressed, or anything.

But the main debate is like to lie upon the article of choosing a king, both the nations being under one government at present, but the settlement ending in the reigning line, the northern men refuse to join in government again, unless they have a rectification of some conditions, in which they say they have the worst of it.

In this case, even the southern men themselves say, they believe the Nolunarians have been in the chair of reflection, the thinking engine, and that having screwed their understandings into a direct position to that matter before them, they have made a right judgment of their own affairs, and with all their poverty stand on the best foot as to right.

But as the matter of this northern quarrel comes under a second head, and is more properly the subject of a second voyage to the moon; the reader may have it more at large considered in another class, and some further enlightenings in that affair than perhaps can be reasonably expected of me here.

But of all the feuds and brangles that ever poor nation was embroiled in; of all the quarrels, the factions, and parties, that ever the people of any nation thought worth while to fall out for; none were ever in reality so light, in effect so heavy, in appearance so great, in substance so small, in name so terrible, in nature so trifling, as those for which this southern country was altogether by the ears among themselves.

And this was one reason why I so earnestly inquired of my lunarian philosopher, whether he

had an estate in that country or no. But having told him the cause of that inquiry, he replied, there was one thing in the nature of his countrymen which secured them from the ruin which usually attended divided nations, viz., that if any foreign nation, thinking to take the advantage of their intestine divisions, fell upon them in the highest of all their feuds, they lay aside their parties and quarrels and presently fall in together to beat out the common enemy; and then, no sooner had they obtained peace abroad, by their conduct and bravery, but they would fall to cutting one another's throats again at home, as naturally as if it had been their proper calling, and that for trifles too, mere trifles.

Very well, said I, to my learned self, pretty like my own country still, that, whatever peace they have abroad, are sure to have none at home.

To come at the historical account of these lunarian dissensions it will be absolutely necessary to enter a little into the story of the place, at least as far as relates to the present constitution, both of the people, the government, and the subject of their present quarrels.

And first we are to understand, that there has for some ages been carried on in these countries, a private feud or quarrel among the people, about a thing called by them Upogyla, with us very vulgarly called Religion.

This difference, as in its original it was not great, nor indeed upon points accounted among themselves essential, so it had never been a difference of any height, if there had not always been some one thing or other happening in the state, which made the court-politicians think it necessary to keep the people busy and embroiled, to prevent their more narrow inspection into depredations and encroachment on their li-

berties, which was always making on them by the court.

It is not denied but there might be a native want of charity in the inhabitants, adapting them to feud, and particularly qualifying them to be always piquing one another; and some of their own nation, who, by the help of the famous perspectives beforementioned, pretend to have seen further into the insides of nature and constitution than other people, tell us the cross lines of nature which appear in the make of those particular people, signify a direct negative as to the article of charity and good neighbourhood.

It was particularly unhappy to this wrangling people, that reasons of state should always fall in, to make that uncharitableness and continual quarrelling humour necessary to carry on the public affairs of the nation, and may pass for a certain proof that the state was under some diseases and convulsions, which, like a body that digests nothing so well as what is hurtful to its constitution, makes use of those things for its support, which are in their very nature fatal to its being, and must at last tend to its destruction.

But as this, however, inclined them to be continually snarling at one another, so as in all quarrels it generally appears one side must go down.

The prevailing party, therefore, always kept the power in their hands, and as the under were always subject to the lash, they soon took care to hook their quarrel into the affairs of state, and so join religious differences and civil differences together.

These things had long embroiled the nation, and frequently involved them in bitter enmities, feuds, and quarrels, and once in a tedious, ruinous, and

bloody war in their own bowels, in which, contrary to all expectation, this lesser party prevailed.

And since the allegoric relation may bear great similitude with our European affairs on this side the moon, I shall, for the ease of expression, and the better understanding of the reader, frequently call them by the same names our unhappy parties are called by in England; as Solunarian churchmen, and Crolian dissenters, at the same time desiring my reader to observe, that he is always to remember who it is we are talking of, and that he is by no means to understand me of any person, party, people, nation, or place, on this side the moon, any expression, circumstance, similitude, or appearance to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

This premised, I am to tell the reader that the last civil war in this lunar country, ended in the victors confounding their own conquest by their intestine broils, they being, as is already noted, a most eternally quarrelling nation; upon this new breach, they that first began the war turned about, and pleading that they took up arms to regulate the government, not to overthrow it, fell in with the family of their king's, who had been banished, and one of them destroyed, and restored the crown to the family, and the nation to the crown, just for all the world as the presbyterians in England did, in the case of king Charles the Second.

The party that was thus restored accepted the return the others made to their duty, and their assistance in restoring the family of their monarch, but abated not a tittle of the old rancour against them as a party, which they entertained at their first taking arms, not allowing the return they had made to be any atonement at all for the crimes they had been guilty of before. It is true, they passed an act or grant of general pardon and

oblivion, as in all such cases is usual, and as without which the other would never have come in, or have joined powers to form the restoration they were bringing to pass, but the old feud of religion continued, with this addition, that the dissenters were rebels, murderers, king-killers, enemies to monarchy and civil government, lovers of confusion, popular, anarchial governments, and movers of sedition; that this was in their very nature and principles, and the like.

In this condition, and under these mortifications, this party of people lived just an Egyptian servitude, viz., of forty years, in which time they were frequently vexed with persecution, harassed, plundered, fined, imprisoned, and very hardly treated, insomuch that they pretend to be able to give an account of vast sums of their country money, levied upon them on these occasions, amounting, as I take it, to two millions of lunatians, a coin they keep their accounts by there, and much about the value of our pound sterling; besides this they were hooked into a great many sham plots, and sworn out of their lives and estates in such a manner, that in the very next reign the government was so sensible of their hard treatment, that they reversed several sentences by the same authority that had executed them; a most undeniable proof they were ashamed of what had been done; at last, the prince who was restored as above said, died, and his brother mounted the throne; and now began a third scene of affairs, for this prince was neither churchman, nor dissenter, but of a different religion from them all, known in that country by the name of Abrogratzianism, and this religion of his had this one absolutely necessary consequence in it, that a man could not be sincerely and heartily of this, but he must be an implacable hater of both the other. As this

is laid down as a previous supposition, we are with the same reason to imagine this prince to be entirely bent upon the suppression and destruction of both the other, if not absolutely as to life and estate, yet entirely as to religion.

To bring this the more readily to pass, like a true politician, had his methods and particulars been equally politic with his generals, he began at the right end, viz., to make the breach between the Solunarian church and the Crolian dissenters as wide as possible; and to do this it was resolved to shift sides, and as the crown had always took part with the church, crushed, humbled, persecuted, and by all means possible mortified the dissenters, as is noted in the reign of his predecessor, this prince resolved to caress, cherish, and encourage the Crolians by all possible arts, and outward endearments; not so much that they purposed them any real favour, for the destruction of both was equally determined, nor so much that they expected to draw them over to Abrogratzianism, but two reasons may be supposed to give rise to this project.

1. The Lunarian church party had all along preached up for a part of their religion, that absolute undisputed obedience was due from every subject to their prince, without any reserve, reluctance, or repining; that as to resistance, it was fatal to body, soul, religion, justice, and government; and though the doctrine was repugnant to nature, and to the very supreme command itself, yet he that resisted, received to himself damnation, just for all the world like our doctrine of passive obedience. Now though these Solunarian churchmen did not absolutely believe all they said themselves to be true, yet they found it necessary to push these things to the utmost extremities, because they might the better fix upon the Crolian dissenters the charge of professing

less loyal principles than they. For as to the Crolians, they professed openly they would pay obedience to the prince, as far as the laws directed, but no further.

These things were run up to strange heights, and the people were always falling out about what they would do, or would not do, if things were so and so, as they were not, and were never likely to be; and the hot men on both sides were every now and then going together by the ears about chimeras, shadows, may-be's and supposes.

The hot men of the Solunarian church were for knocking the Crolians on the head, because, as they said, they were rebels, their fathers were rebels, and they would certainly turn rebels again upon occasion.

The Crolians insisted upon it, that they had nothing to do with what was done before they were born, that if they were criminal because their fathers were so, then a great many who were now of the Solunarian church were as guilty as they, several of the best members of that church having been born of Crolian parents.

In the matter of loyalty, they insisted upon it they were as loyal as the Solunarians, for that they were as loyal as nature, reason, and the laws both of God and man required, and what the other talked of more was but a mere pretence, and so it would be found if ever their prince should have occasion to put them to the trial; that he that pretended to go beyond the power of nature and reason, must indeed go beyond them, and they never desired to be brought into the extreme, but they were ready at any time to show such proofs, and give such demonstrations of their loyalty, as would satisfy any reasonable prince, and for more they had nothing to say.

In this posture of affairs, this new prince found his subjects when he came to the crown, the

Solunarian church caressed him, and notwithstanding his being devoted to the Abrogratzian faith, they crowned him with extraordinary acclamations.

They were the rather inclined to push this forward by how much they thought it would singularly mortify the Crolians, and all the sorts of dissenters, for they had all along declared their abhorrence of the Abrogratzians to such a degree, that they publicly endeavoured to have got a general concurrence of the whole nation in the public cortes, or diet of the kingdom, to have joined with them in excluding this very prince by name, and all other princes that should ever embrace the Abrogratzian faith.

And it wanted but a very little of bringing it to pass, for almost all the great men of the nation, though Solunarians, yet that were men of temper, moderation, and foresight, were for this exclusive law. But the high priests and patriarchs of the Solunarian church prevented it, and upon pretence of this passive-obedience principle, made their interest and gave their voices for crowning, or entailing the crown and government on the head of one of the most implacable enemies, both to their religion and civil rights, that ever the nation saw; but they lived to repent it too late.

This conquest over the Crolians and the moderate Solunarians, if it did not suppress them entirely, it yet gave the other party such an ascendant over them, that they made no doubt when that prince came to the crown, they had done so much to oblige him, that he could deny them nothing, and therefore, in expectation, they swallowed up the whole body of the Crolians at once, and began to talk of nothing less than banishing them to the northern part of the country, or to certain islands and countries a vast

way off, where formerly great numbers of them had fled for shelter in like cases.

And this was the more probable by an unhappy stroke these Crolians attempted to strike, but miscarried in, at the very beginning of this prince's reign: for as they had always professed an aversion to this prince on account of his religion, as soon as their other king was dead, they set up one of his natural sons against this king which the Solunarians had so joyfully crowned. This young prince invaded his dominions, and great numbers of the most zealous Crolians joined him. But to cut the story short, he was entirely routed by the forces of the new prince, for all the Solunarian church joined with him against the Crolians, without any respect to the interest of religion, so they overthrew their brethren: the young invading prince was taken and put to death openly, and great cruelties were exercised in cold blood upon the poor unhappy people that were taken in the defeat!

Thus a second time these loyal Solunarian churchmen established their enemy, and built up what they were glad afterwards to pull down again, and to beg the assistance of those very Crolians whom they had so rudely handled, to help them demolish the power they had erected themselves, and which now began to set its foot upon the throat of those that nourished and supported it.

Upon this exceeding loyalty and blind assistance given to their prince, the Solunarians made no question but they had so eternally bound him to them, that it would be in their power to pull down the very name of Crolianism, and utterly destroy it from the nation.

But the time came on to undeceive them, for this prince, whose principle as an Abrogratzian, was to

destroy them both, as it happened, was furnished with counsellors and ecclesiastics of his own profession, ten thousand times more bent for their general ruin than himself.

For, abstracted from the venom and rancour of his profession as an Abrogratzian, and from the furious zeal of his Brahmin priests, and religious people, that continually hung about him, and that prompted him to act against his temper and inclination, by which he ruined all, he was else a forward and generous prince, and likely to have made his people great and flourishing.

But his furious churchmen ruined all his good designs, and turned all his projects to compass the introduction of his own religion into his dominions.

Nay, and had he not fatally been pushed on by such as really designed his ruin, to drive this deep design on too hastily and turn the scale of his management from a close and concealed, to an open and professed design, he might have gone a great way with it. Had he been content to have let that have been twenty years a-doing, which he impatiently, as well as preposterously, attempted all at once, wise men have thought he might in time have suppressed the Solunarian religion, and have set up his own.

To give a short scheme of his proceedings, and with them of the reason of his miscarriage.

1. Having defeated the rebellious Crolians, as is before noted, and reflecting on the danger he was in upon the sudden progress of that rebellion, for indeed he was within a trifle of ruin in that affair; and had not the Crolians been deceived by the darkness of the night and led to a large ditch of water, which they could not pass over, they had certainly surprised and overthrown his army, and cut them in pieces, before they had known who had hurt them. Upon the sense of this danger, he takes up a

pretence of necessity for the being always ready to resist the factious Crolians, as he called them, and by that insinuation hooks himself into a standing army in time of peace; nay, and so easy were the Solunarian church to yield up any point, which they did but imagine would help to crush their brethren the Crolians, that they not only consented to this unusual invasion of their ancient liberties, but sent up several testimonials of their free consent, nay, and of their joy of having arrived to so great a happiness, as to have a prince that, setting aside the formality of laws, would vouchsafe to govern them by the glorious method of a standing army.

These testimonials were things not much unlike our addresses in England, and which when I heard, I could not but remember our case, in the time of the late king James, when the city of Carlisle, in their address, thanked his majesty for the establishing a standing army in England in time of peace, calling it the strength and glory of the kingdom.

So strong is the ambition and envy of parties, these Solunarian gentlemen not grudging to put out one of their own eyes, so they might at the same time put out both the eyes of their enemies; the Crolians rather consented to this badge of their own slavery, and brought themselves who were a free people before, under the power and slavery of the sword.

The ease with which this prince got over so considerable a point as this, made him begin to be too credulous, and to persuade himself that the Solunarian churchmen were really in earnest, as to their pageant-doctrine of non-resistance, and that, as he had seen them bear with strange extravagancies on the Crolian part, they were real and in earnest when they preached, that men ought to obey for conscience's sake, whatever hardships were imposed

upon them, and however unjust, or contrary to the laws of God, nature, reason, or their country. What principle in the world could more readily prompt a prince to attempt what he so earnestly coveted, as this zealous prince did the restoring the Abrogratzian faith? for since he had but two sorts of people to do with, (one he had crushed by force, and had brought the other to profess it their religion, their duty, and their resolution, to bear everything he thought fit to impose upon them, and that they should be damned if they resisted,) the work seemed half done to his hand.

And indeed, when I reflected on the coherence of things, I could not so much blame this prince for his venturing upon the probability; for whoever was but to go up to this lunar world and read the stories of that time, with what fury the hot men of the Solunarian church acted against the dissenting Crolians, and with what warmth they assisted their prince against them, and how cruelly they insulted them after they were defeated in their attempt of dethroning him; how zealously they preached up the doctrine of absolute undisputed resignation to his will, how frequently they obeyed several of his encroachments upon their liberties, and what solemn protestations they made to submit to him in anything, and to stand by and assist him in whatever he commanded them, to the last drop, much with the same zeal and forwardness as our life and fortune men did here in England: I say, when all this was considered, I could not so much condemn his credulity, nor blame him for believing them; for no man could have doubted their sincerity, but he that at the same time must have taxed them with most unexampled hypocrisy.

For the Solunarians now began to discern their prince was not really on their side; that neither in

state matters any more than religion, he had any affection for them, and the first absolute shock he gave them, was in publishing a general liberty to the Crolians. It is true this was not out of respect to the Crolian religion any more than the Solunarian, but purely because by that means he made way for an introduction of the Abrogratzian religion, which now began to appear publicly in the country.

But, however, as this was directly contrary to the expectation of the Solunarians, it gave them such a disgust against their prince, that from that very time, being disappointed in the sovereign authority they expected, they entered into the deepest and blackest conspiracy against their prince and his government that ever was heard of.

Many of the Crolians were deluded by the new favour and liberty they received from the prince, to believe him real, and were glad of the mortification of their brethren; but the more judicious, seeing plainly the prince's design, declared against their own liberty, because given them by an illegal authority, without the assent of the whole body legally assembled.

When the Solunarians saw this, they easily reconciled themselves to the Crolians, at least from the outside of the face, for the carrying on their design, and so here was a nation full of plots; here was the prince and his Abrogratzians plotting to introduce their religion, here was a parcel of blind shortsighted Crolians plotting to ruin the Solunarian establishment, and weakly joining with the Abrogratzians to satisfy their private resentments; and here was the wiser Crolians joining heartily with the Solunarians of all sorts, laying aside private resentments, and forgetting old grudges about religion, in order to ruin the invading projects of the prince and his party.

There was indeed some verbal conditions past between them; and the Solunarians, willing to bring them into their party, promised them, upon the faith of their nation, and the honour of the Solunarian religion, that there should be no more hatred, disturbance, or persecution, for the sake of religion, between them, but that they would come to a temper with them, and always be brethren for the future. They declared that persecution was contrary to their religion in general, and to their doctrine in particular; and backed their allegations with some truths they have not since thought fit to like, nor much to regard.

However, by this artifice, and on these conditions, they brought the Crolians to join with them in their resolutions to countermine their designing prince; these indeed were for doing it by the old way downright, and to oppose oppression with force, a doctrine they acknowledged, and professed to join with all the lunar part of mankind in the practice, and began to tell their brethren how they had imposed upon themselves and the world, in pretending to absolute submission, against nature and universal Lunarian practice.

But a cunning fellow personating a Solunarian, and who was in the plot, gravely answered them thus; Look ye, gentlemen, we own with you that nature, reason, law, justice, and custom of nations, is on your side, and that all power derives from, centres in, and on all recesses or demises of power returns to, its great original, the party governed: nay, we own our great eye, from whom all the habitable parts of this globe are enlightened, has always directed us to practise what nature thus dictates, always approved and generally succeeded the attempt of dethroning tyrants. But our case differs; we have always pretended to this absolute undisputed

obedience, which we did indeed to gain the power of your party; and if we should turn round at once to your opinion, though never so right, we should so fly in the face of our own doctrine, sermons, innumerable pamphlets and pretensions, as would give all our enemies too great a power over us in argument, and we should never be able to look mankind in the face: but we have laid our measures so, that by prompting the king to run upon us in all sorts of barefaced extremes and violences, we shall bring him to exasperate the whole nation; then we may underhand foment the breach on this side, raise the mob upon him, and by acting on both sides, seem to suffer a force in falling in with the people, and preserve our reputation.

Thus we shall bring the thing to pass, betray our prince, take arms against his power, call in foreign force to do the work, and even then keep our hands seemingly out of the broil, by being pretended sticklers for our former prince; so save our reputation, and bring all to pass with ease and calmness; while the eager party of the Abrogratzians will do their own work by expecting we will do it for them.

The Crolians, astonished both at the policy, the depth, the knavery, and the hypocrisy of the design, left them to carry it on, owning it was a masterpiece of craft, and so stood still to observe the issue, which every way answered the exactness of its contrivance.

When I saw into the bottom of all this deceit, I began to take up new resolutions of returning back into our old world again, and going home to England, where, though I had conceived great indignation at the treatment our passive-obedience men gave their prince here, and was in hopes in these my remote travels to have found out some

nations of honour and principles, I was filled with amazement to see our moderate knaves so much outdone, and I was informed that all these things were mere amusements, visors, and shams, to bring an innocent prince into the snare.

Would any mortal imagine, who has read this short part of the story, that all this was a Solunarian church plot, a mere conspiracy between these gentlemen and the Crolian dissenters, only to wheedle in the unhappy prince to his own destruction, and bring the popular advantage of the mob to a greater ascendant on the crown.

Of all the Richelieus, Mazarines, Gondamars, Oliver Cromwells, and the whole train of politicians that our world has produced, the greatest of their arts are follies to the unfathomable depth of these Lunarian policies; and for wheedle, lying, swearing, preaching, printing, &c., what is said in our world by priests and politicians, we thank God may be believed; but if ever I believe a Solunarian priest preaching non-resistance of monarchs, or a Solunarian politician turning Abrogratzian, I ought to be marked down for a fool; nor will ever any prince in that country take their word again, if ever they have their senses about them; but as this is a most extraordinary scene, so I cannot omit a more particular and sufficient relation of some parts of it, than I used to give.

The Solunarian clergy had carried on their non-resistance doctrine to such extremities, and had given this new prince such unusual demonstrations of it, that he fell absolutely into the snare, and entirely believed them; he had tried them with such impositions as they would never have borne from any prince in the world, nor from him neither, had they not had a deep design, and consequently stood in need of the deepest disguise imaginable; they

had yielded to a standing army, and applauded it as a thing they had desired; they had submitted to levying taxes upon them by new methods, and illegal practices; they had yielded to the abrogation, or suspension at least, of their laws, when the king's absolute will required it; not that they were blind, and did not see what their prince was doing, but that the black design was so deeply laid, they found it was the only way to ruin him, to push him upon the highest extremes, and then they should have their turn served. Thus if he desired one illegal thing of them, they would immediately grant two; one would have thought they had read our Bible, and the command, when a man takes away the cloak, to give him the coat also.

Nor was this enough, but they seemed willing to admit of the public exercise of the Abrogratzian religion in all parts; and when the prince set it up in his own chapel, they suffered it to be set up in their cities and towns, and the Abrogratzian clergy began to be seen up and down in their very habits; a thing which had never been permitted before in that country, and which the common people began to be very uneasy at; but still the Solunarian clergy, and all such of the gentry especially as were in the plot, by their sermons, printed books, and public discourses, carried on this high topping notion of absolute submission, so that the people were kept under, and began to submit to all the impositions of the prince.

These things were so acted to the life, that not only the prince, but none of his Abrogratzian counsellors could see the snare; the hook was so finely covered by the church artificers, and the bait so delicious, that they all swallowed it with eagerness and delight.

But the conspirators, willing to make a sure game

of it, and not thinking the king or all his counsellors would drive on so fast as they would have them, though they had already made a fair progress for the time, resolved to play home; and accordingly they persuade their prince, that they will not only submit to his arbitrary will in matters of state and government, but in matters of religion; and in order to carry this jest on, one of the heads of their politics, and a person of great esteem for his abilities in matters of state, being without question one of the ablest heads of all the Solunarian nobility, pretended to be converted, and turned Abrogratzian. This immediately took as they desired, for the prince caressed him, and entertained him with all possible endearments, preferred him to several posts of honour and advantage, always kept him near him, consulted him in all emergencies, took him with him to the Abrogratzian sacrifices, and he made no scruple publicly to appear there; and by these degrees, and a super-Achitophelian hypocrisy, so insinuated himself into the credulous prince's favour, that he became his only confident, and absolute master of all his designs.

Now the plot had its desired effect, for he pushed the king upon all manner of precipitations; and if even the Abrogratzians themselves who were about the king, interposed for more temperate proceedings, he would call them cowards, strangers, ignorant of the temper of the Lunarians, who, when they were agoing, might be driven, but if they were suffered to cool and consider, would face about and fall off.

Indeed the men of prudence and estates among his own party, I mean the Abrogratzians in the country, frequently warned him to take more moderate measures, and to proceed with more caution;

told him he would certainly ruin them all, and himself, and that there must be somebody about his majesty that pushed him upon these extremes, on purpose to set all the nation in a flame, and to overthrow all the good designs, which, with temper and good conduct, might be brought to perfection.

Had these wary counsels been observed, and a prudence and policy agreeable to the mighty consequence of things been practised, the Solunarian church had run a great risk of being overthrown, and to have sunk gradually in the Abrogratzian errors; the people began to be drawn off gradually, and the familiarity of the thing made it appear less frightful to unthinking people, who had entertained strange notions of the monstrous things that were to be seen in it, so that common vogue had filled the people's minds with ignorant aversions, that it is no absurdity to say, I believe there was two hundred thousand people who would have spent the last drop of their blood against Abrogratzianism, that did not know whether it was a man or a horse.

This thing considered well, would of itself have been sufficient to have made the prince and his friends wary, and to have taught them to suit their measures to the nature and circumstances of things before them; but success in their beginnings blinded their eyes, and they fell into this church snare with the most unpitied willingness that could be imagined.

The first thing therefore this new counsellor put his master upon, in order to the beginning his more certain ruin, was to introduce several of his Abrogratzians into places of all kinds, both in the army, navy, treasure, and civil affairs, though contrary to some of the general constitutions of government; he had done it into the army before, though it had

disgusted several of his military men, but now he pushed him upon making it universal, and still the passive Solunarians bore it with patience.

From this tameness and submission, his next step was to argue that he might depend upon it the Solunarian church had so sincerely embraced the doctrine of non-resistance, that they were now ripened not only to sit still and see their brethren the Crolians suppressed, but to stand still and be oppressed themselves; and he might assure himself the matter was now ripe, he might do just what he would himself with them, they were prepared to bear anything.

This was the fatal stroke, for having possessed the prince with the belief of this, he let loose the reins to all his long-concealed desires. Down went their laws, their liberties, their corporations, their churches, their colleges, all went to wreck, and the eager Abrogratzians thought the day their own. The Solunarians made no opposition, but what was contained within the narrow circumference of petitions, addresses, prayers, and tears; and these the prince was prepared to reject, and upon all occasions to let them know he was resolved to be obeyed.

Thus he drove on by the treacherous advice of his new counsels, till he ripened all the nation for the general defection which afterward followed.

For as the encroachments of the prince pushed especially at their church liberties, and threatened the overthrow of all their ecclesiastical privileges, the clergy no sooner began to feel that they were like to be the first sacrifice, but they immediately threw off the visor, and beat the concionazimir; this is a certain ecclesiastic engine which is usual in cases of general alarm, as the church's signal of universal tumult.

This is truly a strange engine, and when a clergyman gets into the inside of it, and beats it, it roars, and makes such a terrible noise from the several cavities, that it is heard a long way; and there are always a competent number of them placed in all parts so conveniently, that the alarm is heard all over the kingdom in one day.

I had some thoughts to have given the reader a diagram of this piece of art, but as I am but a bad draftsman, I have not yet been able so exactly to describe it as that a scheme can be drawn, but to the best of my skill, take it as follows. It is a hollow vessel, large enough to hold the biggest clergyman in the nation; it is generally an octagon in figure, open before, from the waist upward, but whole at the back, with a flat extended over it for reverberation, or doubling the sound; doubling and redoubling being frequently thought necessary to be made use of on these occasions; it is very mathematically contrived, erected on a pedestal of wood like a windmill, and has a pair of winding stairs up to it, like those at the great tun at Heidelberg.

I could make some hieroglyphical discourses upon it, from these references, thus: 1. That as it is erected on a pedestal like a windmill, so it is no new thing for the clergy, who are the only persons permitted to make use of it, to make it turn round with the wind, and serve to all the points of the compass. 2. As the flat over it assists to increase the sound, by forming a kind of hollow or cavity proper to that purpose, so there is a certain natural hollowness, or emptiness, made use of sometimes in it, by the gentlemen of the gown, which serves exceedingly to the propagation of all sorts of clamour, noise, railing, and disturbance. 3. As the stairs to it go winding up like those by which one mounts

to the vast tun of wine at Heidelberg, which has no equal in our world, so the use made of these ascending steps is not altogether different, being frequently employed to raise people up to all sorts of enthusiasms, spiritual intoxications, mad and extravagant action, high exalted flights, precipitations, and all kinds of ecclesiastic drunkenness and excesses.

The sound of this emblem of emptiness, the concionazimir, was no sooner heard over the nation, but all the people discovered their readiness to join in with the summons, and as the thing had been concerted before, they send over their messengers to demand assistance from a powerful prince beyond the sea, one of their own religion, and who was allied by marriage to the crown.

They made their story out so plain, and their king had by the contrivance of their Achitophel, rendered himself so suspected to all his neighbours, that this prince, without any hesitation, resolved to join with them, and accordingly makes vast preparations to invade their king.

During this interval, their behaviour was quite altered at home, the doctrine of absolute submission and non-resistance was heard no more among them; the concionazimir beat daily to tell all the people they should stand up to defend the rights of the church, and that it was time to look about them, for the Abrogratzians were upon them. The eager clergy made this ecclesiastic engine sound as loud and make all the noise they could, and no men in the nation were so forward as they to acknowledge that it was a state trick, and they were drawn in to make such a stir about the pretended doctrines of absolute submission, that they did not see the snare which lay under it; that now their eyes were opened, and they had learned to see the power and

superiority of natural right, and would be deceived no longer. Others were so honest to tell the truth, that they knew the emptiness and weakness of the pretence all along, and knew what they did when they preached it up, viz. to suppress and pull down the Crolians: but they thought their prince, who they always served in crying up that doctrine, and whose exclusion was prevented by it, would have had more gratitude, or at least more sense, than to try the experiment upon them, since whatever, to serve his designs and their own, which they always thought well united, they were willing to pretend, he could not but see they always knew better than to suffer the practice of it in their own case. That since he had turned the tables upon them, it is true he had them at an advantage and might pretend they were knaves, and perhaps had an opportunity to call them so with some reason; but they were resolved, since he had drove them to the necessity of being one or the other, though he might call them knaves, they would take care he should have no reason to call them fools too.

Thus the vapour of absolute subjection was lost on a sudden, and, as if it had been preparatory to what was coming after, the experiment was quickly made; for the king pursuing his encroachments upon the church, and being possessed with a belief that pursuant to their open professions they would submit to anything, he made a beginning with them, in sending his positive command to one of his superintendent priests, or patriarchs, to forbid a certain ecclesiastic to officiate any more till his royal pleasure was known.

Now it happened very unluckily that this patriarch, though none of the most learned of his fraternity, yet had always been a mighty zealous promoter of this blind doctrine of non-resistance, and

had not a little triumphed over and insulted the Crolian dissenters upon the notion of rebellion, antimonarchical principles and obedience, with a reserve for the laws, and the like, as a scandalous practice, and comprehensive of faction, sedition, dangerous to the church and state, and the like.

This reverend father was singled out as the first mark of the king's design; the deluded prince believed he could not but comply, having so publicly professed his being all submission and absolute subjection; but as this was all conceit, he was pushed on to make the assault where he was most certain to meet a repulse; and this gentleman had long since thrown off the mask, so his first order was disobeyed.

The patriarch pretended to make humble remonstrances, and to offer his reasons why he could not in conscience, as he called it, comply. The king, who was now made but a mere engine, or machine, screwed up or down by this false counsellor to act his approaching destruction with his own hand, was prompted to resent this repulse with the utmost indignation, to reject all manner of submissions, excuses or arguments, or anything but an immediate absolute compliance, according to the doctrine so often inculcated; and this he run on so high, as to put the patriarch in prison for contumacy.

The patriarch as absolutely refused to submit, and offered himself to the decision of the law.

Now it was always a sacred rule in these lunar countries, that both king and people are bound to stand by the arbitrement of the law in all cases of right or claim, whether public or private; and this has been the reason that all the princes have endeavoured to cover their actions with pretences of law, whatever really has been in their design; for this

reason the king could not refuse to bring the patriarch to a trial, where the humour of the people first discovered itself, for here passive obedience was tried and cast, the law proved to be superior to the king, the patriarch was acquitted, his disobedience to the king justified, and the king's command proved unjust.

The applause of the patriarch, the acclamations of the people, and the general rejoicings of the whole nation at this transaction, gave a black prospect to the Abrogratzians; and a great many of them came very honestly and humbly to the king and told him if he continued to go on by these measures he would ruin them all; they told him what general alarm had been over the whole nation by the clamours of the clergy; and the beating of the concionazimir in all parts, informed him how the doctrine of absolute obedience was ridiculed in all places, and how the clergy began to preach it back again like a witch's prayer, and that it would infallibly raise the devil of rebellion in all the nation; they besought him to content himself with the liberty of their religion, and the freedom they enjoyed of being let into places and offices of trust and honour, and to wait all reasonable occasions to increase their advantages, and gradually to gain ground; they entreated him to consider the impossibility of reducing so mighty, so obstinate, and so resolute a nation all at once. They pleaded how rational a thing it was to expect that by degrees and good management, which by precipitate measures would be endangered and overthrown.

Had these wholesome counsels taken place in the king's mind, he had been king to his last hour, and the Solunarians and Crolians too had been all undone, for he had certainly encroached upon them

gradually, and brought that to pass in time which by precipitant measures he was not likely to effect.

It was therefore a masterpiece of policy in the Solunarian churchmen to place a feigned convert near their prince, who should always bias him with contrary advices, puff him up with vast prospect of success, prompt him to all extremes, and always fool him with the certainty of bringing things to pass his own way.

These arts made him set light by the repulse he met with in the matter of the patriarch, and now he proceeds to make two attacks more upon the church; one was, by putting some of his Abrogratzian priests into a college among some of the Solunarian clergy; and the other was, to oblige all the Solunarian clergy to read a certain act of his council, in which his majesty admitted all the Abrogratzians, Crolians, and all sorts of dissenters, to a freedom of their religious exercises, sacrifices, exorcisms, dippings, preachings, &c., and to prohibit the Solunarians to molest or disturb them.

Now as this last was a bitter reproach to the Solunarian church for all the ill treatment the dissenting Crolians had received from them, and as it was expressed in the act that all such treatment was unjust and unchristian, so for them to read it in their temples, was to acknowledge that they had been guilty of most unjust and irreligious dealings to the Crolians, and that their prince had taken care to do them justice.

The matter of introducing the Abrogratzians into the colleges or seminaries of the Solunarian priests, was actually against the sacred constitutions and foundation laws of those seminaries.

Wherefore in both these articles they not only disobeyed their prince, but they opposed him with

those trifling things called laws, which they had before declared had no defensive force against their prince; these they had recourse to now, insisted upon the justice and right devolved upon them by the laws, and absolutely refused their compliance with his commands.

The prince, pushed upon the tenters before, received their denial with exceeding resentment, and was heard, with deep regret, to break out in exclamations at their unexpected faithless proceedings, and sometimes to express himself thus: Horrid hypocrisy! Surprising treachery! Is this the absolute subjection which in such numerous testimonials or addresses you professed, and for which you so often and so constantly branded the poor Crolians, and told me that your church was wholly made up of principles of loyalty and obedience! But I will be fully satisfied for this treatment.

In the minute of one of those excursions of his passion, came into his presence the seemingly revolted Lunarian nobleman, and falling in with his present passions, prompts him to a speedy revenge, and proposed his erecting a Court of Searches, something like the Spanish Inquisition, giving them plenipotentiary authority to hear and determine all ecclesiastical causes absolutely, and without appeal.

He empowered these judges to place, by his absolute will, all the Abrogratzian students in the Solunarian college, and though they might make a formal hearing for the sake of the form, yet that by force it should be done.

He gave them power to displace all those Solunarian clergymen that had refused to read his act of demission to the Abrogratzian and Crolian dissenters, and it was thought he designed to keep their

revenues in petto, till he might in time fill them up to some of his own religion.

The commission accordingly began to act, and discovering a full resolution to fulfil his command, they by force proceeded with the students of the Solunarian college; and it was very remarkable, that even some of the Solunarian patriarchs were of this number, who turned out their brethren the Solunarian students, to place Abrogratzians in their room.

This indeed they are said to have repented of since, but however, these it seems were not of the plot, and therefore did not foresee what was at hand.

The rest of the patriarchs, who were all in the grand design, and saw things ripening for its execution, upon the apprehension of this court of searches beginning with them, make an humble address to their prince, containing the reasons why they could not comply with his royal command.

The incensed king upbraided them with his having been told by them of their absolute and unreserved obedience, and refusing their submissions or their reasons, sent them all to jail, and resolved to have brought them before his new high court of searches, in order, as was believed, to have them all displaced.

And now all began to be in a flame; the solicitations of the Solunarian party having obtained powerful relief abroad, they began to make suitable preparations at home. The gentry and nobility who the clergy had brought to join with them, furnished themselves with horses and arms, and prepared with their tenants and dependants to join the succours as soon as they should arrive.

In short, the foreign troops they had procured,

arrived, landed, and published a long declaration of all the grievances which they came to redress.

No sooner was this foreign army arrived with the prince at the head of them, but the face of affairs altered on a sudden. The king indeed, like a brave prince, drew all his forces together, and marching out of his capital city, advanced above five hundred stages, things they measure land with in those countries, and much about our furlong, to meet his enemy.

He had a gallant army well appointed and furnished, and all things much superior to his adversary, but alas! the poison of disobedience was gotten in there, and upon the first march he offered to make towards the enemy one of his great captains with a strong party of his men went over and revolted.

This example was applauded all over the nation, and by this time one of the patriarchs, even the same mentioned before that had so often preached non-resistance of princes, lays by his sacred vestments, mitre, and staff, and exchanging his robes for a soldier's coat, mounts on horseback, and in short, appears in arms against his lord. Nor was this all, but the treacherous prelate takes along with him several Solunarian lords, and persons of the highest figure, and of the household and family of the king, and with him went the king's own daughter, his principal favourites and friends.

At the news of this, the poor deserted prince lost all courage, and abandoning himself to despair, he causes his army to retreat without fighting a stroke, quits them and the kingdom at once, and takes sanctuary with such as could escape with him, in the court of a neighbouring prince.

I have heard this prince exceedingly blamed for

giving himself up to despair so soon. That he thereby abandoned the best and faithfullest of his friends and servants, and left them to the mercy of the Solunarians; that when all those that would have forsaken him were gone, he had forces equal to his enemies; that his men were in heart, fresh and forward; that he should have stood to the last; retreated to a strong town, where his ships rode, and which was over-against the territories of his great ally, to whom he might have delivered up the ships which were there, and have thereby made him superior at sea to his enemies, and he was already much superior at land; that there he might have been relieved with forces too strong for them to match, and at least might have put it to the issue of a fair battle. Others, that he might have retreated to his own court, and capital city, and taking possession of the citadel, which was his own, might so have awed the citizens, who were infinitely rich and numerous, with the apprehensions of having their houses burnt, they would not have dared to have declared for his enemies, for fear of being reduced to heaps and ruins; and that at last he might have set the city on fire in five hundred places, and left the Solunarian churchmen a token to remember their non-resisting doctrine by, and yet have made an easy retreat down the harbour, to other forts he had below, and might with ease have destroyed all the shipping as he went.

It is confessed, had he done either, or both these things, he had left them a dearbought victory; but he was deprived of his counsellor, for as soon as things came to this height, the Achitophel we have so often mentioned, left him also, and went away; all his Abrogratzian priests too forsook him, and he was so bereft of counsel that he fell into the hands of his enemies as he was making his escape;

but he got away again, not without the connivance of the enemy, who were willing enough he should go; so he got a vessel to carry him over to the neighbouring kingdom, and all his armies, ships, forts, castles, magazines, and treasure, fell into his enemies' hands.

The neighbouring prince entertained him very kindly, cherished him, succoured him, and furnished him with armies and fleets for the recovery of his dominions, which has occasioned a tedious war with that prince, which continues to this day.

Thus far, passive doctrines and absolute submission served a turn, bubbled the prince, wheedled him in to take their word who professed it, till he laid his finger upon the men themselves, and that unravelled all the cheat; they were the first that called in foreign power, and took up arms against their prince.

Nor did they end here, but all this scene being over, and the foreign prince having thus delivered them, and their own king being thus chased away, the people call themselves together, and as reason good, having been delivered by him from the miseries, brangles, oppressions, and divisions of the former reign, they thought they could do no less than to crown their deliverer; and having summoned a general assembly of all their capital men, they gave the crown to this prince who had so generously saved them.

And here again, I heard the first king exceedingly blamed for quitting his dominions, for had he stayed here, though he had actually been in their hands, unless they would have murdered him, they could never have proceeded to the extremities they did reach to, nor could they ever have crowned the other prince, he being yet alive, and in his own dominions.

But by quitting the country, they fixed a legal period to their obedience, he having deserted their protection and defence, and openly laid down the administration.

But as these sort of politics cannot be decided by us, unless we know the constitutions of those lunar regions, so we cannot pretend to make a decision of what might, or might not have happened.

It remains to examine how those Solunarians behaved themselves, who had so earnestly cried up the principles of obedience and absolute submission.

Nothing was so ridiculous: now they saw what they had done, they began to repent, and upon recollection of thoughts some were so ashamed of themselves, that having broken their doctrine, and being now called upon to transpose their allegiance, truly they stopped in the midway, and so became martyrs on both sides.

I can liken these to nothing so well as to those gentlemen of our English church, who though they broke into the principles of passive obedience by joining and calling over the P. of O., yet suffered deprivations of benefices, and loss of their livings, for not taking the oath; as if they had not as effectually perjured themselves by taking up arms against their king, and joining a foreign power, as they could possibly do afterward, by swearing to live quietly under the next king.

But these nice gentlemen are infinitely outdone in these countries; for these Solunarians, by a true church turn, not only refuse to transpose their allegiance, but pretend to wipe their mouths as to former taking arms, and return to their old doctrines of absolute submission, boast of martyrdom, and boldly reconcile the contraries of taking up arms, and non-resistance, charging all their bre-

thren with schism, rebellion, perjury, and the damnable sin of resistance.

Nor is this all; for as a great many of these Solunarian churchmen had no affection to this new prince, but were not equally furnished or qualified for martyrdom with their brethren, they went to certain wise men, who being cunning at splitting hairs, and making distinctions, might perhaps furnish them with some mediums between loyalty and disloyalty; they applied themselves with great diligence to these men, and they, by deep study, and long search, either found or made the quaintest device for them that ever was heard of.

By this unheard-of discovery, to their great joy and satisfaction, they have arrived at a power which all the wise men in our world could never pretend to; and which it is thought, could the description of it be regularly made, and brought down hither, would serve for the satisfaction and repose of a great many tender consciences, who are very uneasy at swearing to save their benefices.

These great masters of distinction have learned to distinguish between active swearing and passive swearing, between *de facto* loyalty and *de jure* loyalty, and by this decent acquirement they obtained the art of reconciling swearing allegiance without loyalty, and loyalty without swearing, so that native and original loyalty may be preserved pure and uninterrupted, in spite of all subsequent oaths, to prevailing usurpations.

Many are the mysteries and vast the advantages of this new invented method; mental reservations, inuendoes, and double meanings, are toys to this, for they may be provided for in the literal terms of an oath, but no provision can be made against this; for these men, after they have taken the oath, make no scruple to declare they only swear to be quiet

as long as they can make no disturbance; that they are left at liberty still to espouse the interest and cause of their former prince; they nicely distinguish between obedience and submission, and tell you, a slave taken into captivity, though he swears to live peaceably, does not thereby renounce his allegiance to his natural prince, nor abridge himself of a right to attempt his own liberty, if ever opportunity present.

Had these neat distinctions been found out before, none of our Solunarian clergy, no, not the patriarchs themselves surely, would have stood out, and suffered such depredations on their fortunes and characters as they did; they would never have been such fools to have been turned out of their livings for not swearing, when they might have learned here that they might have swore to one prince, and yet have retained their allegiance to another; might have taken an oath to the new, without impeachment of their old oaths to the absent prince. It is great pity these gentlemen had not gone up to the moon for instruction in this difficult case.

There they might have met with excellent logicians, men of most sublime reasons: Dr. Overall, Dr. Sherlock, and all our nice examiners of these things, would appear to be nobody to them; for as the people in these regions have an extraordinary eyesight, and the clearness of the air contributes much to the help of their optics, so they have without doubt a proportioned clearness of discerning, by which they see as far into millstones, and all sorts of solids, as the nature of things will permit; but above all, their faculties are blessed with two exceeding advantages.

1. With an extraordinary distinguishing power, by which they can distinguish even indivisibles,

part unity itself, divide principles, and distinguish truth into such and so many minute particles, till they dwindle it away into a very nose of wax, and mould it into any form they have occasion for, by which means they can distinguish themselves into or out of any opinion, either in religion, politics, or civil right, that their present emergencies may call for.

2. Their reasoning faculties have this further advantage; that upon occasion they can see clearly for themselves, and prevent others from the same discovery, so that when they have occasion to see anything which presents for their own advantage, they can search into the particulars, make it clear to themselves, and yet let it remain dark and mysterious to all the world besides. Whether this is performed by their exceeding penetration, or by casting an artificial veil over the understandings of the vulgar, authors have not yet determined; but that the fact is true, admits of no dispute.

And the wonderful benefit of these things in point of dispute is extraordinary, for they can see clearly they have the better of an argument, when all the rest of the world think they have not a word to say for themselves: it is plain to them that this or that proves a thing, when nature, by common reasoning, knows no such consequences.

I confess I have seen some weak attempts at this extraordinary talent, particularly in the disputes in England between the church and the dissenters, and between the high and low church; wherein people have tolerably well convinced themselves when nobody else could see anything of the matter, as particularly the famous Mr. W——ly about the antimonarchical principles taught in the dissenters' academies; ditto in L——sly, about the dissenters burning the city, and setting fire to their own

houses to destroy their neighbours'; and another famous author, who proved that Christopher Love lost his head for attempting to pull down monarchy by restoring king Charles the Second.

These indeed are some faint resemblances of what I am upon; but alas! these are tender sort of people, that have not obtained a complete victory over their consciences, but suffer that trifle to reproach them all the while they are doing it, to rebel against their resolved wills, and check them in the middle of the design: from which interruptions arise palpitations of the heart, sickness and squeamishness of stomach; and these have proceeded to castings and vomit, whereby they have been forced sometimes to throw up some such unhappy truths as have confounded all the rest, and flown in their own faces so violently, as in spite of custom has made them blush and look downward: and though in kindness to one another they have carefully licked up one another's filth, yet this unhappy squeamishness of stomach has spoiled all the design, and turned the appetites of their party, to the no small prejudice of a cause that stood in need of more art and more face to carry it on as it should be with a thoroughpaced casehardened policy, such as I have been relating is completely obtained in these regions, where the arts and excellences of sublime reasonings are carried up to all the extraordinaries of banishing scruples, reconciling contradictions, uniting opposites, and all the necessary circumstances required in a complete casuist.

It is not easily conceivable to what extraordinary flights they have carried this strength of reasoning; for besides the distinguishing nicely between truth and error, they obtain a most refined method of distinguishing truth itself into seasons and circumstances, and so can bring anything to be truth,

when it serves the turn that happens just then to be needful, and make the same thing to be false at another time.

And this method of circumstantiating matters of fact into truth or falsehood, suited to occasion, is found admirably useful to the solving the most difficult phenomena of state; for by this art the Solunarian church made persecution be against their principles at one time, and reducible to practice at another. They made taking up arms, and calling in foreign power to depose their prince, consistent with non-resistance and passive obedience; nay, they went further, they distinguished between a Crolian's taking arms, and a Solunarian's, and fairly proved this to be rebellion, and that to be non-resistance.

Nay, and which exceeded all the power of human art in the highest degrees of attainment that ever it arrived to on our side the moon, they turned the tables so dexterously, as to argument upon one sort of Crolians, called Prestarians, that though they repented of the war they had raised in former times, and protested against the violence offered their prince, and after another party had in spite of them beheaded him, took arms against the other party, and never left contriving their ruin till they had brought in his son, and set him upon the throne again.

Yet by this most dexterous way of twisting, extending, contracting, and distinguishing of phrases and reasoning, they presently made it as plain as the sun at noonday, that these Prestarians were king-killers, commonwealths-men, rebels, traitors, and enemies to monarchy: that they restored the monarchy only in order to destroy it, and that they preached up sedition, rebellion, and the like: this was proved so plain by these sublime distinctions,

that they convinced themselves and their posterity of it, by a rare and newly acquired art, found out by extraordinary study, which proves the wonderful power of custom, insomuch, that let any man by this method tell a lie over a certain number of times, he shall arrive to a satisfaction of its certainty though he knew it to be a fiction before, and shall freely tell it for a truth all his life after.

Thus the Prestarians were called the murderers of the father though they restored the son, and all the testimonials of their sufferings, protests, and insurrections, to prevent his death, signified nothing, for this method of distinguishing has that powerful charm in it, that all those trifles we call proofs and demonstration were of no use in that case. Custom brought the story up to a truth, and in an instant all the Crolians were hooked in under the general name of Prestarians, at the same time to hook all parties in the crime.

Now as it happened at last that these Solunarian gentlemen found it necessary to do the same thing themselves, viz., to lay aside their loyalty, depose, fight against, shoot bullets at, and throw bombs at their king till they frighted him away, and sent him abroad to beg his bread, the Crolians began to take heart, and tell them, now they ought to be friends with them, and tell them no more of rebellion and disloyalty; nay, they carried it so far as to challenge them to bring their loyalty to the test, and compare Crolian loyalty and Solunarian loyalty together, and see who had raised more wars, taken up arms oftenest, or appeared in most rebellions against their kings; nay, who had killed most kings, the Crolians or the Solunarians; for there having been then newly fought a great battle between the Solunarian churchmen under their new prince and the armies of foreign succours under their

old king, in which their old king was beaten and forced to fly a second time, the Crolians told them that every bullet they shot at the battle was as much a murdering their king, as cutting off the head with a hatchet was a killing his father.

These arguments in our world would have been unanswerable, but when they came to be brought to the test of lunar reasoning, alas they signified nothing; they distinguished and distinguished till they brought the Prestarian war to be mere rebellion, king-killing bloody and unnatural, and the Solunarian fighting against their king, and turning him adrift to seek his fortune, no prejudice at all to their loyalty, no, nor to the famous doctrine of passive obedience and absolute subjection.

When I saw this, I really bewailed the unhappiness of some of our gentlemen in England, who standing exceedingly in need of such a wonderful dexterity of argument to defend their share in our late Revolution, and to reconcile it to their antecedent and subsequent conduct, should not be furnished from this more accurate world with the suitable powers, in order the better to defend them against the banter and just raillery of their ill-natured enemies the whigs.

By this they might have attained suitable reserves of argument to distinguish themselves out of their loyalty, and into their loyalty, as occasion presented to dismiss this prince, and entertain that, as they found it to their purpose; but above all, they might have learnt a way how to justify swearing to one king and praying for another, eating one prince's bread and doing another prince's work, serving one king they don't love and loving another they don't serve; they might easily reconcile the schisms of the church, and prove they are still loyal subjects to king James, while they are only forced

bondsmen to the Act of Settlement, for the sake of that comfortable importance, called food and raiment; and thus their reputation might have been saved, which is most unhappily tarnished and blurred, with the malicious attacks of the whigs on one hand, and the non-jurants on the other.

These tax them, as above, with rebellion by their own principles, and contradicting the doctrine of passive submission and non-resistance, by taking up arms against their prince, calling in a foreign power, and deposing him; they charge them with killing the Lord's anointed, by shooting at him at the Boyne, where if he was not killed it was his own fault, at least it is plain it was none of theirs.

On the other hand, the non-jurant clergy charge them with schism, declare the whole church of England schismatics, and breakers-off from the general union of the church, in renouncing their allegiance, and swearing to another power, their former prince being yet alive.

It is confessed all the answers they have been able to make to these things, are very weak and mean, unworthy men of their rank and capacities, and it is pity they should not be assisted by some kind communication of these lunar arguments and distinctions, without which, and till they can obtain which, a conforming Jacobite must be the absurdest contradiction in nature; a thing that admits of no manner of defence, no, not by the people themselves, and which they would willingly abandon, but that they can find no side to join with them.

The dissenting Jacobites have some plea for themselves, for let their opinion be never so repugnant to their own interest, or general vogue, they are faithful to something, and they won't join with these people, because they have perjured their faith, and yet pretend to adhere to it at the same time. The

conforming whigs won't receive them, because they pretend to rail at the government they have sworn to, and espouse the interest they have sworn against; so that these poor creatures have but one way left them, which is to go along with me, next time I travel to the moon, and that will most certainly do their business, for when they come down again, they will be quite another sort of men; the distinctions, the power of argument, the way of reasoning they will be then furnished with, will quite change the scene of the world with them, they will certainly be able to prove they are the only people, both in justice, in politics, and in prudence; that the extremes of every side are in the wrong; they will prove their loyalty preserved, untainted, through all the swearings, fightings, shootings, and the like, and nobody will be able to come to the test with them; so that upon the whole, they are all distracted if they don't go up to the moon for illumination, and that they may easily do in the next Consolidator.

But as this is a very long digression, and for which I am to beg my reader's pardon, being an error I slipt into from my abundant respect to these gentlemen, and for their particular instruction, I shall endeavour to make my reader amends by keeping more close to my subject.

To return therefore to the historical part of the Solunarian churchmen, in the world in the moon.

Having, as is related, deposed their king, and placed the crown upon the head of the prince that came to their assistance, a new scene began all over the kingdom.

1. A terrible and bloody war began through all the parts of the lunar world, where their banished prince and his new ally had any interest; and the new king having a universal character over all the northern kingdoms of the moon, he brought in a

great many potent kings, princes, emperors and states, to take part with him, and so it became the most general war that had happened in those ages.

I did not trouble myself to inquire into the particular successes of this war, but at what had a more particular regard to the country from whence I came, and for whose instruction I have designed these sheets, the strife of parties, the internal feuds at home, and their analogy to ours; and whatever is instructively to be deduced from them, was the subject of immediate inquiry.

No sooner was this prince placed on the throne, but according to his promises to them that invited him over, he convened the estates of the realm, and giving them free liberty to make, alter, add or repeal, all such laws as they thought fit, it must be their own fault if they did not establish themselves upon such foundation of liberty, and right, as they desired; for he gave them their full swing, never interposed one negative upon them for several years, and let them do almost everything they pleased.

This full liberty had like to have spoiled all; for, as is before noted, this nation had one unhappy quality they could never be broke of, always to be falling out one among another.

The Crolians, according to capitulation, demanded the full liberty and toleration of religion, which the Solunarians had conditioned with them for, when they drew them off from joining with the old king, and when they promised to come to a temper, and to be brethren in peace and love ever after.

Nor were the Solunarian churchmen backward, either to remember or perform the conditions; but by the consent of the king, who had been by agree ment made guarantee of their former stipulations, an act was drawn up in full form, and as complete, as both satisfied the desires of the Crolians, and

testified the honesty and probity of the Solunarians, as they were abstractedly and moderately considered.

During the whole reign of this king, this union of parties continued without any considerable interruption; there was indeed brooding mischiefs which hovered over every accident, in order to generate strife, but the candour of the prince, and the prudence of his ministers, kept it under for a long time.

At last an occasion offered itself, which gave an unhappy stroke to the nation's peace. The king, through innumerable hazards, terrible battles, and a twelve years' war, had reduced his powerful adversary to such a necessity of peace, that he became content to abandon the fugitive king, and to own the title of this warlike prince; and upon these, among various other conditions, very honourable for him and his allies, and by which vast conquests were surrendered, and disgorged to the losers, a peace was made to the universal satisfaction of all those parts of the moon that had been involved in a tiresome and expensive war.

This peace was no sooner made, but the inhabitants of this unhappy country, according to the constant practice of the place, fell out in the most horrid manner among themselves, and with the very prince that had done all these great things for them; and I cannot forget how the old gentleman I had these relations from, being once deeply engaged in discourse with some senators of that country, and hearing them reproach the memory of that prince from whom they received so much, and on the foot of whose gallantry and merit the constitution then subsisted, it put him into some heat, and he told them to their faces that they were guilty both of murder and ingratitude.

I thought the charge was very high, but as they

returned upon him, and challenged him to make it out, he answered he was ready to do it, and went on thus:

His majesty, said he, left a quiet, retired, completely happy condition, full of honour, beloved of his country, valued and esteemed, as well as feared by his enemies, to come over hither at your own request, to deliver you from the encroachments and tyranny, as you called it, of your prince.

Ever since he came hither, he has been your mere journeyman, your servant, your soldier of fortune; he has fought for you, fatigued and harassed his person, and robbed himself of all his peace for you; he has been in a constant hurry, and run through a million of hazards for you; he has conversed with fire and blood, storms at sea, camps and trenches ashore, and given himself no rest for twelve years, and all for your use, safety, and repose. In requital of which, he has been always treated with jealousies and suspicions, with reproaches and abuses of all sorts, and on all occasions, till the ungrateful treatment of the Solunarians eat into his very soul, tired it with serving an unthankful nation, and absolutely broke his heart; for which reason I think him as much murdered as his predecessor was, whose head was cut off by his subjects.

I could not, when this was over, but ask the old gentleman, what was the reason of his exclamation, and how it was the people treated their prince upon this occasion.

He told me it was a grievous subject, and a long one, and too long to rehearse, but he would give me a short abridgment of it; and not to look back into his wars, in which he was abominably ill served, his subjects constantly ill treated him in giving him supplies too late, that he could not get

into the field, nor forward his preparations in time to be ready for his enemies, who frequently were ready to insult him in his quarters.

By giving him sham taxes and funds, that raised little or no money, by which he, having borrowed money of his people by anticipation, the funds not answering, he contracted such vast debts as the nation could never pay, which brought the war into disrepute, sunk the credit of his exchequer, and filled the nation with murmurs and complaint.

By betraying his counsel and well-laid designs to his enemies, selling their native country to foreigners, retarding their navies and expeditions, till the enemies were provided to receive them, betraying their merchants and trade, spending vast sums to fit out fleets, just time enough to go abroad and do nothing, and then get home again.

But as these were too numerous evils, and too long to repeat, the particular things he related to me in his discourse, were these that follow:

There had been a hasty peace concluded with a furious and powerful enemy, the king foresaw it would be of no continuance, and that the demise of a neighbouring king, who, by all appearance, could not live long, would certainly embroil them again. He saw that prince keep up numerous legions of forces, in order to be in a posture to break the peace with advantage. This the king fairly represented to them, and told them the necessity of keeping up such a force, and for such a time, at least, as might be necessary to awe the enemy from putting any affront upon them in case of the death of that prince, which they daily expected.

The party who had all along maligned the prosperity of this prince, took fire at the offer, and here began another state plot, which though it hooked in two or three sets of men for different ends, yet

altogether joined in affronting and ill treating their prince, upon this article of the army.

The nation had been in danger enough from the designs of former princes invading their privileges, and putting themselves in a posture to tyrannise by the help of standing forces; and the party that first took fire at this proposal, though the very same men who, in the time of an Abrogratzian prince, were for caressing him, and giving him thanks for his standing army, as has been noted before, were the very people that began the outcry against this demand; and so specious were the pretences they made, that they drew in the very Crolians themselves, upon the pretence of liberty, and exemption from arbitrary methods of government, to oppose their king.

It grieved this good prince to be suspected of tyrannic designs, and that by a nation who he had done so much, and ventured so far, to save from tyranny and standing armies; it was in vain he represented to them the pressing occasion; in vain he gave them a description of approaching dangers, and the threatening posture of the enemy's armies; in vain he told them of the probabilities of renewing the war, and how keeping but a needful force might be a means of preventing it; in vain he proposed the subjecting what force should be necessary to the absolute power, both as to time and number, of their own cortez or national assembly.

It was all one; the design being formed in the breasts of those who were neither friends to the nation, nor the king, those reasons which would have been of force in another case, made them the more eager; bitter reflections were made on the king, and scurrilous lampoons published upon the subject of tyrants, and governing by armies.

Nothing could be more ungrateful to a generous

prince, nor could anything more deeply affect this king, than whom none ever had a more genuine, single-hearted design for the people's good; but above all, like Cæsar in the case of Brutus, it heartily moved him to find himself pushed at by those very people whom he had all along seen pretending to adhere to his interest, and the public benefit, which he had always taken care should never be parted; and to find these people join against this proposal, as a design against their liberties, and as a foundation of tyranny, heartily and sensibly afflicted him.

It was a strange mystery, and not easily unriddled, that those men who had always a known aversion to the interest of the deposed king, should fall in with this party; and those that were friends to the general good, never forgave it them.

All that could be said to excuse them, was the plot I am speaking of, that by carrying this point for that party, they hooked in those forward people to join in a popular cry of liberty and property, things they were never fond of before, and to make some settlement of the people's claims which they always had opposed, and which they would since have been very glad to have repealed.

So great an ascendant had the personal spleen of this party over their other principles, that they were content to let the liberties of the people be declared in their highest claims, rather than not obtain this one article, which they knew would so exceedingly mortify their prince, and strengthen the nation's enemies. They freely join in acts of succession, abjuration, declaration of the power and claims of the people, and the superiority of their right to the prince's prerogative, and abundance of such things, which they could never be otherwise brought to.

It is true these were great things, but it was thought all this might have been obtained in conjunction with their prince, rather than by putting affronts and mortifications upon the man that had, next to the influence of heaven, been the only agent of restoring them to a power and capacity of enjoying as well as procuring such things as national privileges.

It was vigorously alleged that standing armies in times of peace, were inconsistent with the public safety, the laws and constitutions of all the nations in the moon.

But these allegations were strenuously answered, that it was true without the consent of the great national council, it was so, but that being obtained, it was not illegal, and public necessities might make that consent not only legal, but convenient.

It was all to no purpose, the whole was carried with a torrent of clamour and reflection against the good prince, who consented, because he would in nothing oppose the current of the people; but withal, told them plainly what would be the consequences of their heat, which they have effectually found true since to their cost, and to the loss of some millions of treasure.

For no sooner was this army broke, which was the best ever that nation saw, and was justly the terror of the enemy, but the great monarch we mentioned before, broke all measures with this prince and the confederate nations, a proof what just apprehensions they had of his conduct, at the head of such an army. For they broke with contempt, a treaty which the prince upon a prospect of this unkindness of his people had entered into with the enemy, and which he engaged in, if possible, to prevent a new war, which he foresaw he should be very unfit to begin, or carry on, and which they

would never have dared to break had not this feud happened.

It was but a little before I came into this country, when such repeated accounts came of the encroachments, insults, and preparations of their great powerful neighbour, that all the world saw the necessity of a war, and the very people who were to feel it most applied to the prince to begin it.

He was forward enough to begin it, and in compliance with his people, resolved on it; but the grief of the usage he had received, the unkind treatment he had met with from those very people that brought him thither, had sunk so deep upon his spirits, that he could never recover it; but being very weak in body and mind, and joined to a slight hurt he received by a fall from his horse, he died, to the unspeakable grief of all his subjects that wished well to their native country.

This was the melancholy account of this great prince's end, and I have been told that once every year there is a kind of fast, or solemn commemoration kept up for the murder of that former prince, who, as I noted, was beheaded by his subjects; so it seems some of the people, who are of opinion this prince was murdered by the ill treatment of his friends, a way which, I must own, is the cruellest of deaths, keep the same day, to commemorate his death; and this is a day in which it seems both parties are very free with one another, as to raillery and ill language.

But the friends of this last prince have a double advantage, for they also commemorate the birthday of this prince, and are generally very merry on that day; and the custom is, at their feast on that day, just like our drinking healths, they pledge one another to the immortal memory of their deliverer. As the historical part of this matter was absolutely

necessary to introduce the following remarks, and to instruct the ignorant in those things, I hope it shall not be thought a barren digression, especially when I shall tell you that it is a most exact representation of what is yet to come in a scene of affairs, of which I must make a short abstract by way of introduction.

The deceased prince we have heard of, was succeeded by his sister-in-law, the second daughter of the banished prince, a lady of an extraordinary character, of the old race of their kings, a native by birth, a Solunarian by profession; exceeding pious, just, and good, of an honesty peculiar to herself, and for which she was justly beloved of all sorts and degrees of her subjects.

This princess having the experience of her father and grandfather before her, joined to her own prudence and honesty of design, it was no wonder if she prudently shunned all manner of rash counsels, and endeavoured to carry it with a steady hand between her contending parties.

At her first coming to the crown, she made a solemn declaration of her resolutions for peace and just government; she gave the Crolians her royal word, that she would inviolably preserve the toleration of their religion and worship, and always afford them her protection, and by this she hoped they would be easy.

But to the Solunarians, as those among whom she had been educated, and whose religion she had always professed, been trained up in, and piously pursued, she expressed herself with an uncommon tenderness; told them they should be the men of her favour, and those that were most zealous for that church should have most of her countenance; and she backed this soon after with an unparalleled act of royal bounty to them, freely parting with a con-

siderable branch of her royal revenue for the poor priests of that religion, of which there were many in the remote parts of her kingdom.

What vast consequences, and prodigiously differing from the design, may words have when mistaken and misapplied by the hearers. Never were significant expressions spoken from a sincere, honest, and generous principle, with a single design to engage all the subjects in the moon to peace and union, so perverted, misapplied, and turned by a party, to a meaning directly contrary to the royal thoughts of the queen: for from this very expression, 'most zealous,' grew all the divisions and subdivisions in the Solunarian church, to the ruin of their own cause, and the vast advantage of the Crolian interest. The eager men of the church, especially those we have been taking of, hastily catched at this expression of the queen, 'most zealous,' and millions of fatal constructions and unhappy consequences they made of it, some of which are as follows:

1. They took it to imply that the queen, whatever she had said to the Crolians, really designed their destruction, and that those that were of that opinion, must be meant by the 'most zealous' members of the Solunarian church, and they could understand zeal no otherwise than in their own way.

2. From this speech, and their mistaking the words 'most. zealous,' arose an unhappy distinction among the Solunarians themselves, some zealous, some more zealous, which afterwards divided them into two most opposite parties, being fomented by an accident of a book published on an occasion, of which presently.

The consequences of this mistake appeared presently in the most zealous, in their offering all possible insults to the Crolian dissenters, preaching them down, printing them down, and talking them

down, as a people not fit to be suffered in the nation, and now they thought they had the game sure.

'Down with the Crolians' began to be all the cry, and truly the Crolians themselves began to be uneasy, and had nothing to rely upon but the queen's promise, which, however, her majesty always made good to them.

The other party proceeded so far, that they begun to insult the very queen herself, upon the matter of her word, and one of her college priests told her plainly in print, she could not be a true friend to the Solunarian church, if she did not declare war against, and root out all the Crolians in her dominions.

But these proceedings met with a check, by a very odd accident: a certain author of those countries, a very mean, obscure, and despicable fellow, of no great share of wit, but that had a very unlucky way of telling his story, seeing which way things were agoing, writes a book, and personating this high Solunarian zeal, musters up all their arguments, as if they were his own, and strenuously pretends to prove that all the Crolians ought to be destroyed, hanged, banished, and the d—l and all. As this book was a perfect surprise to all the country, so the proceedings about it on all sides were as extraordinary.

The Crolians themselves were surprised at it, and so closely had the author couched his design, that they never saw the irony of the style, but began to look about them to see which way they should fly to save themselves.

The men of zeal we talked of, were so blinded with the notion, which suited so exactly with their real design, that they hugged the book, applauded the unknown author, and placed the book next their oracular writings, or laws of religion.

The author was all this while concealed, and the paper had all the effect he wished for.

For as it caused these first gentlemen to caress, applaud, and approve it, and thereby discovered their real intention, so it met with abhorrence and detestation in all the men of principles, prudence, and moderation, in the kingdom, who though they were Solunarians in religion, yet were not for blood, desolation and persecution of their brethren, but with the queen were willing they should enjoy their liberties and estates, they behaving themselves quietly and peaceably to the government.

At last it came out that it was writ by a Crolian; but good God! what a clamour was raised at the poor man; the Crolians flew at him like lightning, ignorantly and blindly, not seeing that he had sacrificed himself and his fortunes in their behalf; they rummaged his character for reproaches, though they could find little that way to hurt him; they plentifully loaded him with ill language and railing, and took a great deal of pains to let the world see their own ignorance and ingratitude.

The ministers of state, though at that time of the fiery party, yet seeing the general detestation of such a proposal, and how ill it would go down with the nation, though they approved the thing, yet began to scent the design, and were also obliged to declare against it, for fear of being thought of the same mind.

Thus the author was proscribed by proclamation, and a reward of fifty thousand hecatoes, a small imaginary coin in those parts, put upon his head.

The cortes of the nation being at the same time assembled, joined in censuring the book, and thus the party blindly damned their own principles for mere shame of the practice, not daring to own the

thing in public which they had underhand professed, and the fury of all parties fell upon the poor author.

The man fled the first popular fury, but at last, being betrayed, fell into the hands of the public ministry.

When they had him they hardly knew what to do with him; they could not proceed against him as author of a proposal for the destruction of the Crolians, because it appeared he was a Crolian himself; they were loath to charge him with suggesting that the Solunarian churchmen were guilty of such a design, lest he should bring their own writings to prove it true; so they fell to wheedling him with good words to throw himself into their hands and submit, giving him that gewgaw the public faith for a civil and gentlemanlike treatment: the man, believing like a coxcomb that they spoke as they meant, quitted his own defence, and threw himself on the mercy of the queen, as he thought; but they, abusing their queen with false representations, perjured all their promises with him, and treated him in a most barbarous manner, on pretence that there were no such promises made, though he proved it upon them by the oath of the persons to whom they were made.

Thus they laid him under a heavy sentence, fined him more than they thought him able to pay, and ordered him to be exposed to the mob in the streets.

Having him at this advantage, they set upon him with their emissaries to discover to them his adherents, as they called them, and promised him great things on one hand, threatening him with his utter ruin on the other; and the great scribe of the country, with another of their great courtiers, took such a low step as to go to him to the dungeon where they had put him, to see if they could tempt him to betray his friends. The comical dialogue

between them there the author of this has seen in manuscript, exceeding diverting, but having not time to translate it, it is omitted for the present; though he promises to publish it in its proper season for public instruction.

However, for the present it may suffice to tell the world, that neither by promises of reward or fear of punishment they could prevail upon him to discover anything, and so it remains a secret to this day.

The title of this unhappy book was, the Shortest Way with the Crolians. The effects of it were various, as will be seen in our ensuing discourse: as to the author, nothing was more unaccountable than the circumstances of his treatment; for he met with all that fate which they must expect who attempt to open the eyes of a nation wilfully blind.

The hot men of the Solunarian church damned him without bell, book, or candle; the more moderate pitied him, but looked on as unconcerned; but the Crolians, for whom he had run this venture, used him worst of all; for they not only abandoned him, but reproached him as an enemy that would have them destroyed. So one side railed at him because they did understand him, and the other because they did not.

Thus the man sunk under the general neglect, was ruined and undone, and left a monument of what every man must expect that serves a good cause, professed by an unthankful people.

And here it was I found out that my lunar philosopher was only so in disguise, and that he was no philosopher, but the very man I have been talking of.

From this book, and the treatment its author received, for they used him with all possible rigour, a new scene of parties came upon the stage, and this

queen's reign began to be filled with more divisions and feuds than any before her.

These parties began to be so numerous and violent that it endangered the public good, and gave great disadvantages to the general affairs abroad.

The queen invited them all to peace and union, but it was in vain; nay, one had the impudence to publish that to procure peace and union it was necessary to suppress all the Crolians, and have no party but one, and then all must be of a mind.

From this heat of parties all the moderate men fell in with their queen, and were heartily for peace and union: the other, who were now distinguished by the title of high Solunarians, called these all Crolians and low Solunarians, and began to treat them with more inveteracy than they used to do the Crolians themselves, calling them traitors to their country, betrayers of their mother, serpents harboured in the bosom, who bite, sting, and hiss at the hand that succoured them: and, in short, the enmity grew so violent, that from hence proceeded one of the subtilest, foolishest, deep, shallow contrivances and plots that ever was hatched or set on foot by any party of men in the whole moon, at least who pretended to any brains, or to half a degree of common understanding.

There had always been dislikes and distastes between even the most moderate Solunarians and the Crolians, as I have noted in the beginning of this relation, and these were derived from dissenting in opinions of religion, ancient feuds, private interest, education, and the like; and the Solunarians had frequently, on pretence of securing the government, made laws to exclude the Crolians from any part of the administration, unless they submitted to some religious tests and ceremonies which were prescribed them.

Now as the keeping them out of offices was more the design, than the conversion of the Crolians to the Solunarian church, the Crolians, at least many of them, submitted to the test, and frequently conformed, to qualify themselves for public employments.

The most moderate of the Solunarians were, in their opinion, against this practice, and the high men taking advantage of them, drew them in to concur in making a law with yet more severity against them, effectually to keep them out of employment.

The low Solunarians were easy to be drawn into this project, as it was only a confirming former laws of their own making; and all things run fair for the design; but as the high men had further ends in it than barely reducing the Crolians to conformity, they couched so many gross clauses into their law, that even the grandees of the Solunarians themselves could not comply with; nay, even the patriarchs of the Solunarian church declared against it, as tending to persecution and confusion.

This disappointment enraged the party, and that very rage entirely ruined their project; for now the nobility, the patriarchs, and all the wise men of the nation, joining together against these men of heat and fury, the queen began to see into their designs; and as she was of a most pious and peaceable temper, she conceived a just hatred of so wicked and barbarous a design, and immediately dismissed from her council and favour the great scribe, and several others who were leaders in the design, to the great mortification of the whole party, and utter ruin of the intended law against the Crolians.

Here I could not but observe. as I have done before in the case of the banished king, how impolitic these high Solunarian churchmen acted in all their proceedings; for had they contented themselves by

little and little to have done their work, they had done it effectually; but pushing at extremities, they overshot themselves, and ruined all.

For the grandees and patriarchs made but a few trifling objections at first, nay, and came off, and yielded some of them too; and if these would have consented to have parted with some clauses which they have willingly left out since, they had had it passed; but these were as hot men always are, too eager and sure of their game, they thought all was their own, and so they lost themselves.

If they railed at the low Solunarian churchmen before, they doubled their clamours at them now; all the patriarchs, and all the nobility and grandees, nay, even the queen herself, came under their censure, and everybody who was not of their mind were Prestarians and Crolians.

As this rage of theirs was implacable, so, as I hinted before, it drove them into another subdivision of parties, and now began the mysterious plot to be laid which I mentioned before; for the cortes being summoned, and the law being proposed, some of these high Solunarians appeared in confederacy with the Crolians, in perfect confederacy with them, a thing nobody would have imagined could ever have been brought to pass.

Now as these sorts of plots must always be carried very nicely, so these high gentlemen who confederated with the Crolians, having, to spite the other, resolved effectually to prevent the passing the law against the qualification of the Crolians, it was not their business immediately to declare themselves against it as a law, but by still loading it with some extravagance or other, and pushing it on to some intolerable extreme, secure its miscarriage.

In the managing this plot, one of their authors was specially employed; and that all that was really

true of the Crolian dissenters might be ridiculed, his work was to draw monstrous pictures of them, which nobody could believe; this took immediately, for now people began to look at their shoes to see if they were not cloven-footed as they went along the streets; and at last finding they were really shaped like the rest of the lunar inhabitants, they went back to the author, who was a learned member of a certain seminary or brotherhood of the Solunarian clergy, and inquired if he were not mad, distracted and raving, or moon-blind, and in want of the thinking engine; but finding all things right there, and that he was in his senses, especially in a morning when he was a little free from, &c., that he was a good, honest, jolly Solunarian priest, and no room could be found for an objection there;—upon all these searches it presently appeared, and all men concluded, it was a mere fanatic Crolian plot; that this high party of all were but pretenders, and mere traitors to the true high Solunarian churchmen, that, wearing the same cloth, had herded among them in disguise, only to wheedle them into such wild extravagances as must of necessity confuse their counsels, expose their persons, and ruin their cause, according to the like practice put upon their Abrogratzian prince, and of which I have spoken before.

And since I am upon the detection of this most refined practice, I crave leave to descend to some particular instances, which will the better evince the truth of this matter, and make it appear that either this was really a Crolian plot, or else all these people were perfectly distracted; and as their wits in that lunar world are much higher strained than ours, so their lunacy, where it happens, must, according to the rules of mathematical nature bear an extreme equal in proportion.

This college fury of a man was the first on whom this useful discovery was made; and having writ several learned tracts, wherein he invited the people to murder and destroy all the Crolians, branded all the Solunarian patriarchs, clergy, and gentry, that would not come into his proposal, with the name of cowards, traitors, and betrayers of lunar religion; having beat the concionazimir at a great assembly of the cadirs, or judges, and told them all the Crolians were devils, and they were all perjured that did not use them as such: he carried on matters so dexterously, and with such surprising success, that he filled even the Solunarians themselves with horror at his proposals. And as I happened to be in one of their public halls, where all such writings as are new are laid a certain time to be read by every comer, I saw a little knot of men round a table, where one was reading this book. There were two Solunarian high priests in their proper vestments, one privy-councillor of the state, one other nobleman, and one who had in his hat a token to signify that he possessed one of the fine feathers of the Consolidator, of which I have given the description already.

The book being read by one of the habited priests, he starts up with some warmth, By the moon, says he, I have found this fellow out, he is certainly a Crolian, a mere prestarian Crolian, and is crept into our church only in disguise, for it is certain all this is but mere banter and irony, to expose us, and to ridicule the Solunarian interest.

The privy-councillor took it presently, Whether he is a Crolian or no, says he, I cannot tell, but he has certainly done the Crolians so much service, that if they had hired him to act for them, they could not have desired he should serve them better.

Truly, says the man of the feather, I was always for pulling down the Crolians, for I thought them dangerous to the state; but this man has brought the matter nearer to my view, and shown me what destroying them is, for he put me upon examining the consequences, and now I find it would be lopping off the limbs of the government, and laying it at the mercy of the enemy, that they might lop off its head; I assure you he has done the Crolians great service, for whereas abundance of our men of the feather were for routing the Crolians, they lately fell down to one hundred and thirty-four, or thereabouts.

All this confirmed the first man's opinion, that he was a Crolian in disguise, or an emissary employed by them to ruin the project of their enemies; for these Crolians are damned cunning people in their way, and they have money enough to engage hirelings to their side.

Another party concerned in this plot was an old cast out Solunarian priest, who, though professing himself a Solunarian, was turned out for adhering to the Abrogratzian king, a mighty stickler for the doctrine of absolute subjection.

This man draws the most monstrous picture of a Crolian that could be invented, he put him in a wolf's skin with long ass's ears, and hung him all over full of associations, massacres, persecutions, rebellions, and blood. Here the people began to stare again, and a Crolian could not go along the street but they were always looking for the long ears, the wolf's claws, and the like; till at last nothing of these things appearing, but the Crolians looking and acting like other folks, they began to examine the matter, and found this was a mere Crolian plot too, and this man was hired to run these extravagant lengths to point out the right meaning.

The discovery being made, people ever since understand him, that when he talks of the dissenters' associations, murders, persecutions, and the like, he means that his readers should look back to the murders, oppressions, and persecutions they had suffered for several past years, and the associations that were now forming to bring them into the same condition again.

From this famous author I could not but proceed to observe the further progress of this most refined piece of cunning, among the very great ones, grandees, feathers, and consolidators of the country. For these cunning Crolians managed their intrigues so nicely, that they brought about a famous division even among the high Solunarian party themselves; and whereas the law of qualification was revived again, and in great danger of being completed; these subtle Crolians brought over one hundred and thirty-four of the feathers in the famous Consolidator to be of their side, and to contrive the utter destruction of it; and thus fell the design which the high Solunarian churchmen had laid for the ruin of the Crolians' interest, by their own friends first joining in all the extremes they had proposed, and then pushing it so much further, and to such mad periods, that the very highest of them stood amazed at the design, startled, flew back, and made a full stop; they were willing to ruin the Crolians, but they were not willing to ruin the whole nation. The more these men began to consider, the more furiously these plotters carried on their extravagances; at last they made a general push at a thing, in which they knew if the other high men joined, they must throw all into confusion, bring a foreign enemy on their backs, unravel all the thread of the war, fight all their victories back again, and involve the whole nation in blood and confusion.

They knew well enough that most of the high men would hesitate at this, they knew if they did not, the grandees and patriarchs would reject it, and so they played the surest game to blast and overthrow this law that could possibly be played.

If any man in the whole world in the moon will pretend this was not a plot, a Crolian design, a mere conspiracy to destroy the law, let him tell me for what other end could these men offer such extremes as they needs must know would meet with immediate opposition, things that they knew all the honest men, all the grandees, all the patriarchs, and almost all the feathers would oppose.

From hence all the men of any foresight brought it to this pass, as is before noted, that either these one hundred and thirty-four were fools or madmen, or that it was a fanatic Crolian plot and conspiracy to ruin the making this law, which the rest of the Solunarian churchmen were very forward to carry on.

I heard indeed some men argue that this could not be; the breach was too wide between the Crolians and these gentlemen ever to come to such an agreement; but the wiser heads who argued the other way, always brought them, as is noted above, to this pinch of argument: that either it must be so, be a fanatic Crolian plot, or else the men of fury were all fools, madmen, and fitter for an hospital, than a state house, or a pulpit.

It must be allowed, these Crolians were cunning people, thus to wheedle in these high-flying Solunarians to break the neck of their dear project.

But upon the whole, for aught I could see, whether it went one way or the other, all the nation esteemed the other people fools,— fools of the most extraordinary size in all the moon, for either way they pulled down what they had been many years a building.

I cannot say that this was in kindness to the Crolians, but in mere malice to the low Solunarian party, who had the government in their hands, for malice always carries men on to monstrous extremes.

Some indeed have thought it hard to call this a plot, and a confederacy with the Crolians; but I cannot but think it the kindest thing that can be said of them, and that it is impossible those people who pushed at some imaginary things in that law, could but be in a plot as aforesaid, or be perfectly lunatic, downright madmen, or traitors to their country, and let them choose which character they like.

I cannot in charity but spare them their honesty, and their senses, and attribute it all to their policy.

When I had understood all things at large, and found the exceeding depth of the design, I must confess the discovery of these things was very diverting, and the more so, when I made the proper reflections upon the analogy there seemed to be between these Solunarian high churchmen in the moon, and ours here in England; our high churchmen are no more to compare to these, than the hundred and thirty-four are to the consolidators.

Ours can plot now and then a little among themselves, but then it is all gross and plain sailing, down right taking arms, calling in foreign forces, assassinations, and the like; but these are nothing to the more exquisite heads in the moon. For they have the subtilest ways with them that ever were heard of. They can make war with a prince, on purpose to bring him to the crown; fit out vast navies against him that he may have the more leisure to take their merchantmen; make descents upon him, on purpose to come home and do nothing; if

they have a mind to a sea-fight, they carefully send out admirals that care not to come within half a mile of the enemy, that coming off safe they may have the boasting part of the victory, and the beaten part both together.

It would be endless to call over the roll of their sublime politics. They damn moderation in order to peace and union, set the house on fire to save it from desolation, plunder to avoid persecution, and consolidate things in order to their more immediate dissolution.

Had our high churchmen been masters of these excellent arts, they had long ago brought their designs to pass.

The exquisite plot of these high Solunarians answered the Crolians' end, for it broke all their enemies' measures, the law vanished, the grandees could hardly be persuaded to read it, and when it was proposed to be read again, they hissed at it, and threw it by with contempt.

Nor was this all; for it not only lost them their design as to this law, but it absolutely broke the party, and just as it was with Adam and Eve, as soon as they sinned, they quarrelled and fell out with one another; so, as soon as things came to this height, the party fell out one among another; and even the high men themselves were divided; some were for consolidating, and some not for consolidating; some were for tacking, and some not for tacking; as they were or were not let into the secret.

If this confusion of languages, or interest, lost them the real design, it cannot be a wonder. Have we not always seen it in our world, that dividing an interest, weakens and exposes it? Has not a great many both good and bad designs been rendered abortive in this our lower world, for want of the

harmony of parties, and the unanimity of those concerned in the design?

How had the knot of rebellion been dissolved in England, if it had not been untied by the very hands of those that knit it? All the contrary force had been entirely broken and subdued, and the restoration of monarchy had never happened in England, if union and agreement had been found among the managers of that age.

The enemies of the present establishment have shown sufficiently that they perfectly understand the shortest way to our infallible destruction, when they bend their principal force at dividing us into parties, and keeping those parties at the utmost variance.

But this is not all, the author of this cannot but observe here, that as England is unhappily divided among parties, so it has this one felicity even to be found in the very matter of her misfortunes, that those parties are all again subdivided among themselves.

How easily might the church have crushed and subdued the dissenters, if they had been all as mad as one party, if they had not been some high and some low churchmen? And what mischief might not that one party have done in this nation, had not they been divided again into jurant-Jacobites, and non-jurant; into consolidators, and non-consolidators? From whence it is plain to me, that just as it is in the moon, these consolidating churchmen are mere confederates with the whigs; and it must be so, unless we should suppose them mere madmen, that dont know what they are adoing, and who are the drudges of their enemies, and know nothing of the matter.

And from this lunar observation it presently occurred to my understanding, that my masters, the

dissenters, may come in for a share among the moon-blind men of this generation, since had they done for their own interest what the law fairly admits to be done, had they been united among themselves, had they formed themselves into a politic body to have acted in a public united capacity by general concert, and as persons that had but one interest, and understood it, they had never been so often insulted by every rising party, they had never had so many machines and intrigues to ruin and suppress them, they had never been so often tacked and consolidated to oppression and persecution, and yet never have rebelled or broke the peace, incurred the displeasure of their princes, or have been upbraided with plots, insurrections, and antimonarchical principles; when they had made treaties and capitulations with the church for temper and toleration, the articles would have been kept, and these would have demanded justice with an authority that would, upon all occasions, be respected.

Were they united in civil polity, in trade, and interest, would they buy and sell with one another, abstract their stocks, erect banks and companies in trade of their own, lend their cash to the government in a body, and as a body.

If I were to tell them what advantages the Crolians in the moon make of this sort of management, how the government finds it their interest to treat them civilly, and use them like subjects of consideration; how upon all occasions some of the grandees and nobility appear as protectors of the Crolians, and treat with their princes in their names, present their petitions, and make demands from the prince of such loans and sums of money as the public occasions require; and what abundance of advantages are reaped from such an union, both to

their own body as a party, and to the government also, they would be convinced; wherefore I cannot but very earnestly desire of the dissenters and whigs in my own country, that they would take a journey in my Consolidator up to the moon, they would certainly see there what vast advantages they lose for want of a spirit of union, and a concert of measures among themselves.

The Crolians in the moon are men of large souls, and generously stand by one another on all occasions; it was never known that they deserted anybody that suffered for them, my old philosopher excepted, and that was a surprise upon them.

The reason of the difference is plain, our dissenters here have not the advantage of a Cogitator, or thinking engine, as they have in the moon. We have the elevator here, and are lifted up pretty much, but in the moon they always go into the thinking engine upon every emergency, and in this they outdo us of this world on every occasion.

In general, therefore, I must note that the wisest men I found in the moon, when they understood the notes I had made as above, of the subdivisions of our parties, told me that it was the greatest happiness that could have been obtained to our country, for that if our parties had not been thus divided, the nation had been undone. They owned that had not their Solunarian party been divided among themselves, the Crolians had been undone, and all the moon had been involved in persecution, and been very probably subjected to the Gallunarian monarch.

Thus the fatal errors of men have their advantages, the separate ends they serve are not foreseen by their authors, and they do good against the very design of the people, and the nature of the evil itself.

And now that I may encourage our people to that peace and good understanding among themselves, which can alone produce their safety and deliverance, I shall give a brief account how the Crolians in the moon came to open their eyes to their own interest, how they came to unite, and how the fruits of that union secured them from ever being insulted again by the Solunarian party, who in time gave over the vain and fruitless attempt, and so a universal lunar calm has spread the whole moon ever since.

If our people will not listen to their own advantages, nor do their own business, let them take the consequences to themselves, they cannot blame the man in the moon.

To endeavour to bring this to pass, as these memoirs have run through the general history of the feuds and unhappy breaches between the Solunarian church and the Crolian dissenters in the world of the moon, it would seem an imperfect and abrupt relation, if I should not tell you how, and by what method, though long hid from their eyes, the Crolians came to understand their own interest, and know their own strength.

It is true, it seemed a wonder to me when I considered the excellence and variety of those perspective glasses I have mentioned, the clearness of the air, and consequently of the head, in this lunar world; I say it was very strange the Crolians should have been moon-blind so long as they were, that they could not see it was always in their power if they had but pursued their own interest, and made use of those legal opportunities which lay before them, to put themselves in a posture, as that the government itself should think them a body too big to be insulted, and find it their interest to keep measures with them.

It was indeed a long time before they opened their eyes to these advantages, but bore the insults of the hair-brained party, with a weakness and negligence that was as unjustifiable in them, as unaccountable to all the nations of the moon.

But at last, as all violent extremes rouse their contrary extremities, the folly and extravagance of the high Solunarians drove the Crolians into their senses, and roused them to their own interest, the occasion was, among a great many others, as follows:

The eager Solunarians could not on all occasions forbear to show their deep regret at the dissenting Crolians enjoying the toleration of their religion by a law.

And when all their legal attempts to lessen that liberty had proved abortive, her Solunarian majesty on all occasions repeating her assurances of the continuance of her protection, and particularly the maintaining this toleration inviolable, they proceeded then to show the remains of their malice, in little insults, mean and illegal methods, and continual private disturbances upon particular persons, in which, however, the Crolians, having recourse to the law, always found justice on their side, and had redress with advantage, of which the following instance is more than ordinarily remarkable:

There had been a law made by the men of the feather, that all the meaner idle sort of people, who had no settled way of living, should go to the wars; and the Lazognians, a sort of magistrates there, in the nature of our justices of the peace, were to send them away by force.

Now it happened, in a certain Solunarian island, that for want of a better, one of their high priests was put into the civil administration, and made a Lazognian. In the neighbourhood of this man's

jurisdiction, one of their own Solunarian priests had turned Crolian, and whether he had a better talent at performance, or rather was more diligent in his office, is not material, but he set up a kind of a Crolian temple in an old barn, or some such mechanic building, and all the people flocked after him.

This so provoked his neighbours of the black girdle, an order of priests, of which he had been one, that they resolved to suppress him, let it cost what it would.

They run strange lengths to bring this to pass.

They forged strange stories of him, defamed him, run him into jail upon frivolous and groundless occasions, represented him as a monster of a man, told their story so plain, and made it so specious, that even the Crolians themselves, to their shame, believed it, and took up prejudices against the poor man, which had like to have been his ruin.

They proscribed him in print for crimes they could never prove, they branded him with forgery, adultery, drunkenness, swearing, breaking jail, and abundance of crimes; but when matters were examined and things came to the test, they could never prove the least thing upon him. In this manner, however, they continually worried the poor man, till they ruined his family and reduced him to beggary; and though he came out of the prison they cast him into by the mere force of innocence, yet they never left pursuing him with all sorts of violence. At last they made use of their brother of the girdle, who was in commission as above, and this man being high priest and Lazognian too, by the first was a party, and by the last had a power to act the tragedy they had plotted against the poor man.

In short, they seized him without any crime alleged, took violently from him his license, as a

Crolian priest, by which the law justified what he had done, pretending it was forged, and after very ill-treating him, condemned him to the wars, delivers him up for a soldier, and accordingly carried him away.

But it happened, to their great mortification, that this man found more mercy from the men of the sword, than from those of the word, and so found means to get out of their hands, and afterwards to undeceive all the moon, both as to his own character, and as to what he had suffered.

For some of the Crolians, who began to be made sensible of the injury done the poor man, advised him to have recourse to the law, and to bring his adversaries before the criminal bar.

But as soon as this was done, good God! what a scene of villany was here opened; the poor man brought up such a cloud of witnesses to confront every article of their charge, and to vindicate his own character, that when the very judges heard it, though they were all Solunarians themselves, they held up their hands, and declared in open court it was the deepest track of villany that ever came before them, and that the actors ought to be made examples to all the moon.

The persons concerned, used all possible arts to avoid, or at least to delay the shame, and adjourn the punishment, thinking still to weary the poor man out. But now his brethren, the Crolians, began to see themselves wounded through his sides, and above all, finding his innocence cleared up beyond all manner of dispute, they espoused his cause, and assisted him to prosecute his enemies, which he did, till he brought them all to justice, exposed them to the last degree, obtained full reparation of all his losses, and a public decree of the judges of his justification and future repose.

Indeed when I saw the proceedings against this poor man run to a height so extravagant and monstrous, when I found malice, forgery, subornation, perjury, and a thousand unjustifiable things, which their own sense, if they had any, might have been their protection against, and which any child in the moon might have told them must one time or other come upon the state and expose them; I began to think these people were all in the Crolian plot too.

For really such proceedings as these were the greatest pieces of service to the Crolians as could possibly be done; for as it generally proves in other places, as well as in the moon, that mischief unjustly contrived falls upon the heads of the authors, and redounds to their treble dishonour, so it was here; the barbarity and inhuman treatment of this man, made the sober and honest part even of the Solunarians themselves blush for their brethren, and own that the punishment awarded on them was just.

Thus the Crolians got ground by the folly and madness of their enemies, and the very engines and plots laid to injure them served to bring their enemies on the stage, and expose both them and their cause.

But this was not all, by these incessant attacks on them as a party, they began to come to their senses out of a fifty year slumber; they found the law on their side, and the government moderate and just; they found they might oppose violence with law, and that when they did fly to the refuge of justice, they always had the better of their enemy; flushed with this success, it put them upon considering what fools they had been all along to bear the insolence of a few hot-headed men, who contrary to the true intent and meaning of the queen, or of the government, had resolved their destruction.

It put them upon revolving the state of their own

case, and comparing it with their enemies'; upon examining on what foot they stood, and though established upon a firm law, yet a violent party pushing at the overthrow of that establishment, and dissolving the legal right they had to their liberty and religion; it put them upon duly weighing the nearness of their approaching ruin and destruction, and finding things run so hard against them, reflecting upon the extremity of their affairs, and how if they had not drawn in the high church champions to damn the projects of their own party, by running at such desperate extremes as all men of any temper must of course abhor, they had been undone; truly now they began to consider, and to consult with one another what was to be done.

Abundance of projects were laid before them, some too dangerous, some too foolish to be put in practice; at last they resolved to consult with my philosopher.

He had been but scurvily treated by them in his troubles, and so universally abandoned by the Crolians, that even the Solunarians themselves insulted them on that head, and laughed at them for expecting anybody should venture for them again. But he, forgetting their unkindness, asked them what it was they desired of him?

They told him, they had heard that he had reported he could put the Crolians in a way to secure themselves from any possibility of being insulted again by the Solunarians, and yet not disturb the public tranquillity, nor break the laws; and they desired him, if he knew such a secret, he would communicate it to them, and they would be sure to remember not to forget him for it as long as he lived.

He frankly told them he had said so, and it was true, he could put them in a way to do all this if they would follow his directions. What's that, says

one of the most earnest inquirers? It is included in one word, says he, Unite.

This most significant word, deeply and solidly reflected upon, put them upon strange and various conjectures, and many long debates they had with themselves about it; at last they came again to him, and asked him what he meant by it?

He told them he knew they were strangers to the meaning of the thing, and therefore if they would meet him the next day he would come prepared to explain himself; accordingly they meet; when, instead of a long speech they expected from him, what sort of union he meant, and with who, he brings them a Thinking Press, or Cogitator, and setting it down, goes away without speaking one word.

This hieroglyphical admonition was too plain not to let them all into his meaning; but still as they are an obstinate people, and not a little valuing themselves upon their own knowledge and penetration, they slighted the engine, and fell to off-hand surmises, guesses, and supposes.

1. Some concluded he meant unite with the Solunarian church, and they reflected upon his understanding, that not being the question in hand, and something remote from their intention, or the high Solunarians' desire.

2. Some meant unite to the moderate party of the Solunarians, and this they said they had done already.

At last some being very cunning, found it out, that it must be his meaning, unite one among another; and even there again they misunderstood him too; and some imagined he meant downright rebellion, uniting power, and mobbing the whole moon, but he soon convinced them of that too.

At last they took the hint, that his advice di-

rected them to unite their subdivided parties into one general interest, and to act in concert upon one bottom; to lay aside the selfish, narrow, suspicious spirit, (three qualifications the Crolians were but too justly charged with,) and begin to act with courage, unanimity, and largeness of soul; to open their eyes to their own interest, maintain a regular correspondence with one another in all parts of the kingdom, and to bring their civil interest into a form.

The author of this advice having thus brought them to understand and approve his proposal, they demanded his assistance for making the essay; and it is a most wonderful thing to consider what a strange effect the alteration of their measures had upon the whole Solunarian nation.

As soon as ever they had settled the methods they resolved to act in, they formed a general council of the heads of their party, to be always sitting, to reconcile differences, to unite parties, to suppress feuds in their beginning.

They appointed three general meetings in three of the most remote parts of the kingdom, to be half yearly, and one universal meeting of persons deputed to concert matters among them in general.

By that time these meetings had sat but once, and the conduct of the council of twelve began to appear, it was a wonder to see the prodigious alteration it made all over the country.

Immediately a Crolian would never buy anything but of a Crolian; would hire no servants, employ neither porter nor carman but what were Crolians.

The Crolians in the country, that wrought and managed the manufactures, would employ nobody but Crolian spinners, Crolian weavers, and the like.

In their capital city, the merchandizing Crolians would freight no ships but of which the owners and commanders were Crolians.

They called all their cash out of the Solunarian bank; and as the act of the cortes, confirming the bank then in being, seemed to be their support, they made it plain that cash and credit will make a bank without a public settlement of law; and without these, all the laws in the moon will never be able to support it.

They brought all their running cash into one bank, and settled a sub-cash, depending upon the grand bank, in every province of the kingdom; in which, by a strict correspondence and crediting their bills, they might be able to settle a paper credit over the whole nation.

They went on to settle themselves in all sorts of trade in open companies, and sold off their interests in the public stocks then in trade.

If the government wanted a million of money upon any emergency, they were ready to lend it as a body, not by different sums and private hands blended together with their enemies, but, as will appear at large presently, it was only Crolian money, and passed as such.

Nor were the consequences of this new model less considerable than the proposer expected, for the Crolians being generally of the trading, manufacturing part of the world, and very rich, the influence this method had upon the common people, upon trade, and upon the public, was very considerable every way.

1. All the Solunarian tradesmen and shopkeepers were at their wits' end; they sat in their shops and had little or nothing to do, while the shops of the Crolians were full of customers, and their people over head and ears in business; this turned many of the Solunarian tradesmen quite off of the hooks, and they began to break and decay strangely, till at last a great many of them, to prevent their utter

ruin, turned Crolians, on purpose to get a trade; and what forwarded that part of it was, that when a Solunarian, who had little or no trade before, came but over to the Crolians, immediately everybody come to trade with him, and his shop would be full of customers, so that this presently increased the number of the Crolians.

2. The poor people in the countries, carders, spinners, weavers, knitters, and all sorts of manufacturers, run in crowds to the Crolian temples for fear of being starved, for the Crolians were two-thirds of the masters or employers in the manufactures all over the country, and the poor would have been starved and undone if they had cast them out of work. Thus insensibly the Crolians increased their number.

3. The Crolians being men of vast cash, they no sooner withdrew their money from the general bank, but the bank languished, credit sunk, and in a short time they had little to do, but dissolved of course.

One thing remained which people expected would have put a check to this undertaking, and that was a way of trading in classes, or societies, much like our East-India companies in England; and these depending upon public privileges granted by the queen of the country, or her predecessors, nobody could trade to those parts but the persons who had those privileges: the cunning Crolians, who had great stocks in those trades, and foresaw they could not trade by themselves without the public grant or charter, contrived a way to get almost all that capital trade into their hands, as follows:

They concerted matters, and all at once fell to selling off their stock, giving out daily reports that they would be no longer concerned, that it was a

losing trade, that the fund at bottom was good for nothing, and that of two societies the old one had not twenty per cent. to divide, all their debts being paid; that the new society had traded several years, but if they were dissolved could not say they had got anything, and that this must be a cheat at last; and so they resolved to sell.

By this artifice, they daily offering to sale, and yet in all their discourse discouraging the thing they were to sell, nobody could be found to buy.

The offering a thing to sale and no bidders, is a certain never-failing prospect of a lowering the price; from this method, therefore, the value of all the banks, companies, societies, and stocks in the country, fell to be little or nothing worth; and that was to be bought for forty or forty-five lunatians that was formerly sold at one hundred and fifty, and so in proportion of all the rest.

All this while the Crolians employed their emissaries to buy up privately all the interest or shares in these things that any of the Solunarian party would sell.

This plot took readily; for these gentlemen, exposing the weakness of these societies, and running down the value of their stocks, and at the same time warily buying at the lowest prices, not only in time got possession of the whole trade, with their grants, privileges, and stocks, but got into them at a prodigiously low and despicable price.

They had no sooner thus wormed them out of the trade, and got the greatest part of the effects in their own hands, and consequently the whole management, but they run up the price of the funds again as high as ever, and laughed at the folly of those that sold out.

Nor could the other people make any reflections upon the honesty of the practice, for it was no

original, but had its birth among the Solunarians themselves, of whom three or four had frequently made a trade of raising and lowering the funds of the societies by all the clandestine contrivances in the world, and had ruined abundance of families to raise their own fortunes and estates.

One of the greatest merchants in the moon raised himself by this method to such a height of wealth, that he left all his children married to grandees, dukes, and great folks; and, from a mechanical original, they are now ranked among the Lunarian nobility, while multitudes of ruined families helped to build his fortune, by sinking under the knavery of his contrivance.

His brother in the same iniquity, being at this time a man of the feather, has carried on the same intriguing trade with all the face and front imaginable; it has been nothing with him to persuade his most intimate friends to sell, or buy, just as he had occasion for his own interest to have it rise, or fall, and so to make his own market of their misfortune.

Thus he has twice raised his fortunes, for the house of feathers demolished him once, and yet he has by the same clandestine management worked himself up again.

This civil way of robbing houses, for I can esteem it no better, was carried on by a middle sort of people, called in the moon Bloutegondegours, which signifies men with two tongues, or in English, stock-jobbing brokers.

These had formerly such an unlimited power, and were so numerous, that indeed they governed the whole trade of the country; no man knew when he bought or sold, for though they pretended to buy and sell, and manage for other men whose stocks they had very much at command, yet nothing was

more frequent than when they bought a thing cheap, to buy it for themselves; if dear, for their employer; if they were to sell, if the price rise, it was sold; if it fell, it was unsold; and by this art nobody got any money but themselves, that at last, excepting the two capital men we spoke of before, these governed the prices of all things, and nothing could be bought or sold to advantage but through their hands; and as the profit was prodigious, their number increased accordingly, so that business seemed engrossed by these men, and they governed the main articles of trade.

This success, and the imprudence of their conduct, brought great complaints against them to the government, and a law was made to restrain them, both in practice and number.

This law has in some measure had its effect, the number is not only lessened, but by chance some honester men than usual are got in among them, but they are so very, very, very few, hardly enough to save a man's credit that shall vouch for them.

Nay, some people, that pretend to understand their business better than I do, having been of their number, have affirmed, it is impossible to be honest in the employment.

I confess, when I began to search into the conduct of these men, at least of some of them, I found there were abundance of black stories to be told of them, a great deal known, and a great deal more unknown; for they were from the beginning continually encroaching into all sorts of people and societies, and in conjunction with some that were not qualified by law, but merely voluntarily, called in the moon by a hard long word, in English signifying Projectors, these erected stocks in shadows, societies in nubibus, and bought and sold mere va-

pour, wind, emptiness, and bluster for money, till they drew people in to lay out their cash, and then laughed at them.

Thus they erected Paper Societies, Linen Societies, Sulphur Societies, Copper Societies, Glass Societies, sham banks, and a thousand mock whimseys to hook unwary people in; at last sold themselves out, left the bubble to float a little in the air, and then vanish of itself.

The other sort of people go on after all this; and though these projectors began to be out of fashion, they always found one thing or other to amuse and deceive the ignorant, and went jobbing on into all manner of things, public as well as private, whether the revenue, the public funds, loans, annuities, bearskins, or anything.

Nay, they were once grown to that extravagant height, that they began to stock-job the very feathers of the Consolidator, and in time the kings employing those people might have had what feathers they had occasion for, without concerning the proprietors of the lands much about them.

It is true this began to be notorious, and received some check in a former meeting of the feathers; but even now, when I came away, the three years expiring, and by course a new Consolidator being to be built, they were as busy as ever; bidding, offering, procuring, buying, selling, and jobbing of feathers to who bid most; and notwithstanding several late wholesome and strict laws against all manner of collusion, bribery, and clandestine methods, in the countries procuring these feathers, never was the moon in such an uproar about picking and culling the feathers; such bribery, such drunkenness, such caballing, especially among the high Solunarian clergy and the Lazognians; such feasting, fighting, and distraction, as the like has never been known.

And that which is very remarkable, all this not only before the old Consolidator was broke up, but even while it was actually whole and in use.

Had this hurry been to send up good feathers, there had been the less to say; but that which made it very strange to me was, that where the very worst of all the feathers were to be found, there was the most of this wicked work; and though it was bad enough everywhere, yet the greatest bustle and contrivance was in order to send up the worst feathers they could get.

And indeed some places such sorry, scoundrel, empty, husky, withered, decayed feathers were offered to the proprietors, that I have sometimes wondered any one could have the impudence to send up such ridiculous feathers to make a Consolidator, which, as is before observed, is an engine of such beauty, usefulness, and necessity.

And still, in all my observation, this note came in my way, there was always the most bustle and disturbance about the worst feathers.

It was really a melancholy thing to consider, and had this lunar world been my native country, I should have been full of concern to see that one thing, on which the welfare of the whole nation so much depended, put in so ill a method, and gotten into the management of such men, who for money would certainly have set up such feathers, that whenever the Consolidator should be formed, it would certainly overset the first voyage; and if the whole nation should happen to be embarked in it, on the dangerous voyage to the moon, the fall would certainly give them such a shock as would put them all into confusion, and open the door to the Gallunarian, or any foreign enemy to destroy them.

It was really strange that this should be the case, after so many laws, and so lately, made against it;

but in this, those people are too like our people in England, who have the best laws the worst executed of any nation under heaven.

For in the moon, this hurry about choosing of feathers was grown to the greatest height imaginable, as if it increased by the very laws that were made to suppress it; for now at a certain public place, where the Bloutegondegours used to meet every day, anybody that had but money enough might buy a feather at a reasonable rate, and never go down into the country to fetch it; nay, the trade grew so hot, that of a sudden, as if no other business was in hand, all people were upon it, and the whole market was changed from selling of bear-skins, to buying of feathers.

Some gave this for a reason why all the stocks of the societies fell so fast; but there were other reasons to be given for that; such as clubs, cabals, stock-jobbers, knights, merchants, and thie—s. I mean a private sort, not such as are frequently hanged there, but of a worse sort, by how much they merit that punishment more, but are out of the reach of the law, can rob and pick pockets in the face of the sun, and laugh at the families they ruin, bidding defiance to all legal resentment.

To this height things were come under the growing evil of this sort of people.

And yet in the very moon, where, as I have noted, the people are so exceeding clearsighted, and have such vast helps to their perceptive faculties, such mists are sometimes cast before the public understanding, that they cannot see the general interest.

This was manifest, in that, just as I came away from that country, the great council of their wise men, the men of the feather, were agoing to repeal the old law of restraining the number of these people; and though as it was there was not employment

for half of them, there being a hundred in all, and not above five honest ones, yet when I came away they were going to increase their number. I have nothing to say to this here, only that all wise men that understand trade were very much concerned at it, and looked upon it as a most destructive thing to the public, and foreboding the same mischiefs that trade suffered before.

It was the particular misfortune to these lunar people that this country had a better stock of governors in all articles of their welfare, than in their trade; their law affairs had good judges, their church good patriarchs, except, as might be excepted; their state good ministers, their army good generals, and their Consolidator good feathers; but in matters relating to trade, they had this particular misfortune, that those cases always came before people that did not understand them.

Even the judges themselves were often found at a loss to determine causes of negoce, such as protests, charter-parties, averages, baratry, demurrage of ships, right of detaining vessels on demurrage, and the like; nay, the very laws themselves are fain to be silent, and yield in many things a superiority to the custom of merchants.

And here I began to congratulate my native country, where the prudence of the government has provided for these things, by establishing in a commission of trade some of the most experienced gentlemen in the nation, to regulate, settle, improve, and revive trade in general, by their unwearied labours and most consummate understanding. And this made me pity these countries, and think it would be an action worthy of this nation, and be spoken of for ages to come to their glory, if in mere charity they would appoint or depute these gentlemen to go a voyage to those countries of the moon,

and bless those regions with the schemes of their sublime undertakings and discoveries in trade.

But when I was expressing myself thus, my philosopher interrupted me, and told me I should see they were already furnished for that purpose, when I came to examine the public libraries; of which by itself.

But I was further confirmed in my observation of the weakness of the public heads of that country, as to trade, when I saw another most preposterous law going forward among them, the title of which was specious, and contained something relating to employing the poor; but the substance of it absolutely destructive to the very nature of their trade, tended to transposing, confounding, and destroying their manufactures, and to the ruin of all their home commerce; never was nation so blind to their own interest as these Lunarian law-makers, and the people who were the contrivers of this law were so vainly conceited, so fond of the guilded title, and so positively dogmatic, that they would not hear the frequent applications of persons better acquainted with those things than themselves, but pushed it on merely by the strength of their party, for the vanity of being authors of such a contrivance.

But to return to the new model of the Crolians. The advice of the Lunarian philosopher run now through all their affairs; 'Unite,' was the word through all the nation, in trade, in cash, in stocks, as I noted before.

If a Solunarian ship was bound to any out-port, no Crolian would load any goods aboard; if any ship came to seek freight abroad, none of the Crolians' correspondents would ship anything unless they knew the owners were Crolians; the Crolian merchants turned out all their Solunarian masters, sailors, and captains, from their ships; and thus, as

the Solunarians would have them be separated in respect of the government, profits, honours, and offices, they resolved to separate in everything else too, and to stand by themselves.

At last, upon some public occasion, the public treasurers of the land sent to the capital city to borrow 500,000 lunatians upon very good security of established funds; truly nobody would lend any money, or at least they could not raise above a fifth part of that sum, inquiring at the bank, at their general society's cash, and other places; all was languid and dull, and no money to be had; but being informed that the Crolians had erected a bank of their own, they sent thither, and were answered readily, that whatever sum the government wanted, was at their service, only it was to be lent not by particular persons, but such a grandee, being one of the prime nobility, and who the Crolians now called their protector, was to be treated with about it.

The government saw no harm in all this, here was no law broken, here was nothing but oppression answered with policy, and mischief fenced against with reason.

The government therefore took no notice of it, nor made any scruple, when they wanted any money, to treat with this nobleman, and borrow any sum of the Crolians, as Crolians; on the contrary, in the name of the Crolians, their head or protector presented their addresses and petitions, procured favours on one hand, and assistance on the other; and thus by degrees, and insensibly, the Crolians became a politic body, settled and established by orders and rules among themselves; and while a spirit of unanimity thus run through all their proceedings, their enemies could never hurt them, their princes always saw it was their interest to keep measures

with them, and they were sure to have justice upon any complaint whatsoever.

When I saw this, it forced me to reflect upon affairs in our own country; Well, said I, it is happy for England that our dissenters have not this spirit of union, and largeness of heart among them; for if they were not a narrow, mean-spirited, short-sighted, self-preserving, friend-betraying, poor-neglecting people, they might have been every way as safe, as considerable, as regarded, and as numerous, as the Crolians in the moon; but it is not in their souls to do themselves good, nor to espouse, or stand by those that would do it for them; and it is well for the churchmen that it is so, for many attempts have been made to save them, but their own narrowness of soul and dividedness in interest has always prevented its being effectual, and discouraged all the instruments that ever attempted to serve them.

It is confessed, the case was thus at first among the Crolians; they were full of divisions among themselves, as I have noted already of the Solunarians, and the unhappy feuds among them had always not only exposed them to the censure, reproach, and banter of their Solunarian enemies, but it had served to keep them under, prevent their being valued in the government, and given the other party vast advantages against.

But the Solunarians, driving thus furiously at their destruction and entire ruin, opened their eyes to the following measures for their preservation: and here again the high Solunarians may see, and doubtless whenever they made use of the lunar glasses they must see it, that nothing could have driven the Crolians to make use of such methods for their defence, but the rash proceedings of their own warm men, in order to suppressing the whole Crolian interest. And this might inform our

countrymen of the Church of England, that it cannot but be their interest to treat their brethren with moderation and temper, lest their extravagances should one time or other drive the other, as it were by force, into their senses, and open their eyes to do only all those things which by law they may do, and which they are laughed at by all the world for not doing.

This was the very case in the moon: the philosopher, or pretended such, as before, had often published, that it was their interest to unite; but their eyes not being open to the true causes and necessity of it, their ears were shut against the counsel, till oppression and necessities drove them to it.

Accordingly, they entered into a serious debate of the state of their own affairs, and finding the advice given very reasonable, they set about it, and the author gave them a model, entitled, An inquiry into what the Crolians may lawfully do, to prevent the certain ruin of their interest, and bring their enemies to peace.

I will not pretend to examine the contents of this sublime tract; but from this very day, we found the Crolians in the moon acting quite on a different foot from all their former conduct, putting on a new temper, and a new face, as you have heard.

All this while the hot Solunarians cried out, 'plots, associations, confederacies, and rebellions,' when indeed here was nothing done but what the laws justified, what reason directed, and what, had the Crolians but made use of the Cogitator, they would have done forty years before.

The truth is, the other people had no remedy, but to cry murder, and make a noise; for the Crolians went on with their affairs, and established themselves so, that when I came away, they were become a most solid and well united body, made a

considerable figure in the nation, and yet the government was easy; for the Solunarians found, when they had attained the utmost end of their wishes, her Solunarian majesty was as safe as before; and the Crolians' property being secured, they were as loyal subjects as the Solunarians, as consistent with monarchy, as useful to it, and as pleased with it.

I cannot but remark here, that this union of the Crolians among themselves had another consequence, which made it appear it was not only to their own advantage, but to the general good of all the nation.

For, by little and little, the feuds of the parties cooled, and the Solunarians began to be better reconciled to them; the government was easy and safe, and the private quarrels, as I have been told since, begin to be quite forgot.

What blindness, said I to myself, has possessed the dissenters in our unhappy country of England, where by eternal discords, feuds, distrusts, and disgusts among themselves, they always fill their enemies with hopes, that by pushing at them, they may one time or other complete their ruin; which expectation has always served as a means to keep open the quarrel; whereas had the dissenters been united in interest, affection, and management among themselves, all this heat had long ago been over, and the nation, though there had been two opinions, had retained but one interest, been joined in affection and peace at home, been raised up to that degree that all wise men wish, as it is now among the inhabitants of the world in the moon.

It is true, in all the observations I made in this lunar country, the vast difference paid to the persons of princes began to lessen; and whatever respect they had for the office, they found it necessary

frequently to tell the world that on occasion, they could treat them with less respect than they pretended to owe them.

For, about this time, the divine right of kings and the inheritances of princes in the moon, met with a terrible shock, and that by the Solunarian party themselves; and insomuch that even my philosopher, and he was none of the *jure divino* men neither, declared against it.

They made crowns perfect footballs, set up what kings they would, and pulled down such as they did not like, *ratione voluntas*, right or wrong, as they thought best, of which some examples shall be given by and by.

After I had thus inquired into the historical affairs of this lunar nation, which for its similitude to my native country I could not but be inquisitive in, I waived a great many material things, which at least I cannot enter upon the relation of here, and began to inquire into their affairs abroad.

I think I took notice, in the beginning of my account of these parts, that I found them engaged in a tedious and bloody war with one of the most mighty monarchs of all the moon.

I must therefore hint, that among the multitude of things which for brevity sake I omit, the reader may observe these were some:

1. That this was the same monarch who harboured and entertained the Abrogratzian prince, who was fled as before, and who we are to call the king of Gallunaria.

2. I have omitted the account of a long and bloody war, which lasted a great many years, and which the present queen's predecessor managed with a great deal of bravery and conduct, and finished very much to his own glory and the nation's advantage.

3. I have too much omitted to note, how barbarously the high Solunarian churchmen treated him for all his services, upbraided him with the expense of the war, and though he saved them all from ruin and Abrogratzianism, yet had not one good word for him; and indeed it is with some difficulty that I pass this over, because it might be necessary to observe, besides what is said before, that ingratitude is a vice in nature, and practised everywhere as well as in England; so that we need not upbraid the party among us with their ill treatment of the late king, for these people used their good king every jot as bad, till their unkindness perfectly broke his heart.

Here also I am obliged to omit the historical part of the war, and of the peace that followed; only I must observe that this peace was very precarious, short, and unhappy; and in a few months the war broke out again with as much fury as ever.

In this war happened one of the strangest, unaccountable, and most preposterous actions that ever a people in their national capacity could be guilty of.

Certainly if our people in England, who pretend that kingship is *jure divino*, did but know the story of which I speak, they would be quite of another mind; wherefore I crave leave to relate part of the history, or original of this last war, as a necessary introduction to the proper observations I shall make upon it.

There was a king of a certain country in the moon, called in their language, Ebronia, who was formerly a confederate with the Solunarians. This prince dying without issue, the great monarch we speak of, seized upon all his dominions as his right: though, if I remember right, he had formerly sworn never to lay claim to it; and after that, by a subse-

quent treaty, had agreed with the Solunarian prince that another monarch, who claimed a right as well as he, should divide it between them.

The breach of this agreement, and seizing this kingdom, put almost all the lunar world into a flame, and war hung over the heads of all the northern nations of the moon, for several claims were made to the succession by other princes, and particularly by a certain potent prince called the Eagle, of an ancient family, whose lunar name I cannot well express, but in English, it signifies, the men of the great lip; whether it was originally a sort of a nickname, or whether they had any such thing as a great lip hereditary to the family, by which they were distinguished, is not worth my while to examine.

It is without question that the successive right, if their lunar successions are governed as ours are in this world, devolved upon this man with the lip, and his families; but the Gallunarian monarch brought things so to pass, by his extraordinary conduct, that the Ebronian king was drawn in by some of his nobility, who this prince had bought and bribed to betray their country to his interest, and particularly a certain high priest of that country, to make an assignment, or deed of gift, of all his dominions, to the grandson of this Gallunarian monarch.

By virtue of this gift, or legacy, as soon as the king died, who was then languishing, and, as the other party alleged, not in a very good capacity to make a will, the Gallunarian king sent his grandson to seize upon the crown; and, backing him with suitable forces, took possession of all his strong fortifications and frontiers.

Nor was this all: the man with the lip, indeed, talked big, and threatened war immediately, but the Solunarians were so unsettled at home, so un-

prepared for war, having but just dismissed their auxiliar troops, and disbanded their own, and the prince was so ill served by his subjects, that both he and a powerful neighbour, nations in the same interest, were merely bullied by this Gallunarian; and as he threatened immediately to invade them, which they were then in no condition to prevent, he forced them both to submit to his demand, tacitly allow what he had done in breaking the treaty with him, and at last openly acknowledge his new king.

This was indeed a most unaccountable step, but there was a necessity to plead, for he was at their very doors with his forces; and this neighbouring people, who they call Mogenites, could not resist him without help from the Solunarians, which they were very backward in, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of their prince, and notwithstanding they were obliged to do it by a solemn treaty.

These delays obliged them to this strange step of acknowledging the invasion of their enemy, and pulling off the hat to the new king he had set up.

It is true, the policy of these lunar nations was very remarkable in this case, and they outwitted the Gallunarian monarch in it; for by the owning this prince, whom they immediately after declared an usurper, and made war against, they stopped the mouth of the Gallunarian his grandfather, took from him all pretence of invading them, and, making him believe they were sincere, wheedled him to restore several thousands of their men, whom he had taken prisoners in the frontier towns of the Ebronians.

Had the Gallunarian prince had but the forecast to have seen that this was but a forced pretence to gain time, and that as soon as they had their troops clear, and time to raise more, they would certainly turn upon him again, he would never have been put

by with so weak a trifle as the ceremony of congratulation; whereas, had he immediately pushed at them with all his forces, they must have been ruined, and he had carried his point without much interruption.

But here he lost his opportunity, which he never retrieved; for it is in the moon, just as it is here, when an occasion is lost, it is not easy to be recovered, for both the Solunarians and the Mogenites quickly threw off the mask, and declaring this new prince an usurper, and his grandfather an unjust breaker of treaties, they prepared for war against them both.

As to the honesty of this matter, my philosopher and I differed extremely, he exclaimed against the honour of acknowledging a king, with a design to depose him, and pretending peace when war is designed; though, it is true, they are too customary in our world; but however, as to him, I insisted upon the lawfulness of it, from the universal custom of nations, who generally do things ten times more preposterous and inconsistent, when they suit their occasions. Yet I hope nobody will think I am recommending them by this relation to the practice of our own nations, but rather exposing them as unaccountable things never to be put in practice without quitting all pretences to justice and national honesty.

The case was this:

As upon the progress of matters before related, the Solunarians and Mogenites had made a formal acknowledgment of this new monarch, the grandson of the Gallunarian king, so, as I have hinted already, they had no other design than to depose him and pull him down.

Accordingly, as soon as by the aforesaid while they had gained breath, and furnished themselves

with forces, they declared war against both the Gallunarian king and his grandson, and entered into strict confederacy with the man of the great lip, who was the monarch of the eagle, and who by right of succession had the true claim to the Ebronian crowns.

In these declarations, they allege that crowns do not descend by gift, nor are kingdoms given away by legacy, like a gold ring at a funeral, and therefore this young prince could have no right; the former deceased king having no right to dispose it by gift.

I must allow, that judging by our reason, and the practice in our countries here, on this side the moon, this seemed plain, and I saw no difference in matters of truth there or here, but right and liberty both of princes and people seems to be the same in that world as it is in this, and upon this account I thought the reasons of this war very just, and that the claim of right to the succession of the Ebronian crown, was undoubtedly in the man with the lip, and his heirs; and so far the war was most just, and the design reasonable.

And thus far my lunar companion agreed with me. And had they gone on so, says he, they had my good wishes, and my judgment had been witness to my pretences, that they were in the right.

But in the prosecution of this war, says he, they went on to one of the most impolitic, ridiculous, dishonest, and inconsistent actions that ever any nation in the moon was guilty of; the fact was thus:

Having agreed among themselves that the Ebronian crown should not be possessed by the Gallunarian king's grandson, they in the next place began to consider who should have it.

The man with the lip had the title, but he had a great government of his own, powerful, happy, and

remote, being, as is noted, the lord of the great Eagle, and he told them he could not pretend to come to Ebronia to be a king there; his eldest son truly was not only declared heir apparent to his father, but had another Lunarian kingdom of his own, still more remote than that, and he would not quit all this for the crown of Ebronia, so it was concerted by all the confederated parties, that the second son of this prince, the man with the lip, should be declared king, and here lay the injustice of all the case.

I confess, at my first examining this matter, I did not see far into it, nor could I reach the dishonesty of it, and perhaps the reader of these sheets may be in the same case; but my old Lunarian friend being continually exclaiming against the matter, and blaming his countrymen the Solunarians for the dishonesty of it, but especially the Mogenites, he began to be something peevish with me that I should be so dull as not to reach it, and asked me, if he should screw me into the thinking-press, for the clearing up my understanding.

At last he told me he would write his particular sentiments of this whole affair in a letter to me, which he would so order as it should effectually open mine eyes; which indeed it did, and so I believe it will the eyes of all that read it: to which purpose I have obtained of the author to assist me in the translation of it, he having some knowledge also in our sublunar languages.

The substance of a letter wrote to the author of these sheets while he was in the regions of the moon.

Friend from the Moon,

According to my promise, I hereby give you a scheme of Solunarian honesty, joined with Mogenite

policy, and my opinion of the action of my countrymen and their confederates, in declaring their new-made Ebronian king.

The Mogenites and Solunarians are looked upon here to be the original contrivers of this ridiculous piece of pageantry, and though some of their neighbours are supposed to have a hand in it; yet we all lay it at the door of their politics, and for the honesty of it let them answer it if they can.

It is observed here, that as soon as the king of Gallunaria had declared that he accepted the will and disposition of the crown of Ebronia, in favour of his grandson, and that according to the said disposition he had owned him for king, and in order to make it effectual had put him into immediate possession of the kingdom, the Mogenites and their confederates made wonderful clamours at the injustice of his proceedings, and particularly on account of his breaking the treaty then lately entered into with the king of the Solunarians, and the Mogenites, for the settling the matter of right and possession, in case of the demise of the Ebronian king.

However, the king of Gallunaria had no sooner placed his grandson on the throne, but the Mogenites and other nations, and to all our wonder, the king of Solunaria himself acknowledged him, owned him, sent their ministers, and compliments of congratulation, and the like, giving him the title of king of Ebronia.

Though this proceeding had something of surprise in it, and all men expected to see something more than ordinary politic in the effect of it, yet it did not give half the astonishment to the lunar world, as this unaccountable monster of politics begins to do.

We have here two unlucky fellows, called Pasquin and Marforio; these had a long dialogue

about this very matter, and Pasquin, as he always loved mischief, told a very unlucky story to his comrade, of a high Mogenite skipper, as follows:

A Mogenite ship coming from a far country, the custom-house officers found some goods on board which were contraband, and for which they pretended the ship and goods were all confiscated. The skipper, or captain, in a great fright, comes up to the custom-house, and being told he must swear to something relating to his taking in those goods, replied in his country jargon, Ya, dat sall ick doen myn heer; or in English, Ay, ay, I'll swear. But finding they did not assure him that it would clear his ship, he scruples the oath again, at which they told him, it would clear his ship immediately. Hael, well myn heer, says the Mogen man, vat mot ick sagen, ick sall all swear myn skip to salvare, i. e. I shall swear anything to save my skip.

We apply this story thus:

If the Mogenites did acknowledge the king of Ebronia, we did believe it was done to save the skip; and when they reproached the Gallunarian king with breaking the treaty of division, we used to say we should all break through twice as many engagements for half as much advantage.

This setting up a new king against a king on the throne, acknowledged and congratulated by them, is not only looked on in the lunar world as a thing ridiculous, but particularly infamous, that they should first acknowledge a king, and then set up the title of another. If the title of the first Ebronian king be good, this must be an impostor and usurper of another man's right; if it was not good, why did they acknowledge him, and give him the full title of all the Ebronian dominions? caress and congratulate him, and make a public action of it to his ambassador.

Will they tell us they were bullied and frighted into it? that is to own they may be huffed into an ill action; for owning a man in the possession of what is none of his own, is an ill thing, and he that may be huffed into one ill action, may by consequence be huffed into another, and so into anything.

What will they say for doing it? we have heard there has been in the world you came from, a way found out to own kings *de facto*, but not *de jure;* if they will fly to that ridiculous shift, let them tell the world so, that we may know what they mean, for those foolish things are not known here.

If they owned the king of Ebronia voluntarily, and acknowledged his right, as we thought they had, how then can this young gentleman have a title, unless they have found out a new division, and so will have two kings of Ebronia, make them partners, and have a Gallunarian king of Ebronia, and a Mogenite king of Ebronia, both together?

Our lunar nations, princes, and states, whatever they may do in your world, always seek for some pretences, at least, to make their actions seem honest, whether they are so or no: and, therefore, they generally publish memorials, manifestoes, and declarations of their reasons why, and on what account they do so, or so; that those who have any grounds to charge them with injustice, may be answered and silenced; it is for the people in your country to fall upon their neighbours, because they will do it, and make probability of conquest a sufficient reason of conquest; the Lunarian nations are seldom so destitute of modesty but that they will make a show of justice, and make out the reasons of their proceedings; and though sometimes we find even the reasons given for some actions are weak enough, yet it is a bad cause, indeed, that

can neither have a true reason, nor a pretended one. The custom of the moon has obliged us to show so much respect to honesty, that when our actions have the least colour of honesty, yet we will make reasons to look like a defence, whether it be so or no.

But here is an action that has neither reality nor pretence; here is not face enough upon it to bear an apology. First, they acknowledge one king, and then set up another king against him; either they first acknowledged a wrong king, and thereby became parties to an usurper; or they act now against all the rules of common justice in the world, to set up a sham king, to pull down a true one, only because it is their interest to have it so.

This makes the very name of a Solunarian scandalous to all the moon; and mankind look upon them with the utmost prejudice, as if they were a nation who had sold all their honesty to their interest; and who could act this way to-day, and that way to-morrow, without any regard to truth, or the rule of honour, equity, or conscience; this is swearing anything to save the skip: and never let any man reproach the Gallunarian king with breaking the treaty of divisions, and disregarding the faith and stipulations of leagues; for this is an action so inconsistent with itself, so incongruous to common justice, to the reason and nature of things, that no history of any of these latter times can parallel it; and it is past the power of art to make any reasonable defence for it.

Indeed, some lame reasons are given for it by our politicians. First, they say, the prince with the great lip was extremely pressed by the Gallunarians at home in his own country, and not without apprehensions of seeing them ere long under the walls of his capital city.

From this circumstance of the man with the lip, it was not irrational to expect that he might be induced to make a separate peace with the Gallunarians, and serve them as he did once the prince of Berlindia, at the treaty of peace in a former war, where he deserted him after the solemnest engagements never to make peace without him; but his pressing occasions requiring it, concluded a peace without him, and left him to come out of the war as well as he could, though he had come into it only for his assistance. Now finding him in danger of being ruined by the Gallunarian power, and judging from former practice in like cases that he might be hurried into a peace, and leave them in the lurch, they have drawn him into this labyrinth, as into a step which can never be receded from without the utmost affront and disgrace, either to the family of the Gallunarian, or of the lip; an action which in its own nature is a defiance of the whole Gallunarian power and, without any other manifesto, may be taken as a declaration from the house of the lip to the Gallunarian, that this war shall never end till one of those two families are ruined and reduced.

What condition the prince with the lip's power is in, to make such a huff at this time, shall come under examination by and by; in the mean time the Solunarians have clenched the nail, and secured the war to last as long as they think convenient.

If the Gallunarians should get the better, and reduce the man with the lip to terms never so disadvantageous, he cannot now make a peace without leave from the Solunarians and the Mogenites, lest his son should be ruined also; or if he should make articles for himself, it must be with ten times the dishonour that he might have done before.

Politicians say, it is never good for a prince to

put himself into a case of desperation. This is drawing the sword, and throwing away the scabbard; if a disaster should befall him, his retreat is impossible, and this must have been done only to secure the man with the lip from being huffed, or frighted, into a separate peace.

The second reason people here give, why the Solunarians are concerning themselves in this matter, is drawn from trade.

The continuing of Ebronia in the hands of the Gallunarians will most certainly be the destruction of the Solunarian and Mogenites' trade, both to that kingdom and the whole seas on that side of the moon; as this article includes a fifth part of all the trade of the moon, and would, in conjunction with the Gallunarians, at last bring the mastership of the sea out of the hands of the other, so it would in effect be more detriment to those two nations, than ten kingdoms lost, if they had them to part with.

This the Solunarians foreseeing, and being extremely sensible of the entire ruin of their trade, have left no stone unturned to bring this piece of pageantry on the stage, by which they have hooked in the old black Eagle to plunge himself over head and ears in the quarrel, in such a manner as he can never go back with any tolerable honour; he can never quit his son and the crown of Ebronia, without the greatest reproach and disgrace of all the world in the moon.

Now, whether one, or both of these reasons are true in this case, as most believe both of them to be true the policy of my countrymen, the Solunarians, is visible indeed; but, as for their honesty, it is past finding out.

But it is objected here, this son of the lip has an undoubted right to the crown of Ebronia. We do not fight now to set up an usurper, but to pull down

an usurper; and it has been made plain by the manifesto, that the giving a kingdom by will, is no conveyance of right; the prince of the Eagle has an undoubted right, and they fight to maintain it.

If this be true, then we must ask these high and mighty gentlemen how came they to recognise and acknowledge the present king on the throne; why did they own an usurper, if he be such? either one or other must be an act of cowardice and injustice, and all the politics of the moon cannot clear them of one of these two charges; either they were cowardly knaves before, or else they must be cunning knaves now.

If the young Eagle has an undoubted title now, so he had before, and they knew it as well before as they do now; what can they say for themselves, why they should own a king who they knew had no title, or what can they say for going to pull down one that has a title?

I must be allowed to distinguish between fighting with a nation, and fighting with the king. For example: our quarrel with the Gallunarians is with the whole nation, as they are grown too strong for their neighbours. But our quarrel with Ebronia is not with the nation, but with their king; and this quarrel seems to be unjust in this particular, at least in them who owned him to be king, for that put an end to the controversy.

It is true, the justice of public actions, either in princes, or in states, is no such nice thing, that anybody should be surprised to see the government forfeit their faith; and it seems the Solunarians are no more careful this way than their neighbours. But then those people should in especial manner forbear to reproach other nations and princes with the breaches which they themselves are subject too.

As to the Eagle, we have nothing to say to the honesty of his declaring his son king of Ebronia, for, as is hinted before, he never acknowledged the title of the usurper, but always declared and insisted on his own undoubted right, and that he would recover it if he could.

Without doubt the Eagle has a title by proximity of blood, founded on the renunciation of the king of Gallunaria, formerly mentioned; and if the will of the late king be invalid, or he had no right to give the sovereignty of his kingdoms away, then the Eagle is next heir.

But, as we quit his morals, and justify the honesty of his proceedings in the war against the present king of Ebronia, so, in this action of declaring his second son, we must begin to question his understanding; and, saving a respect of decency, it looks as if his musical head was out of tune, to *illus tratellus.* I crave leave to tell you a story out of your own country, which we have heard of hither. A Frenchman, that could speak but broken English, was at the court of England, when on some occasion he happened to hear the title of the king of England read thus, Charles the Second, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. Vat is dat you say? says monsieur, being a little affronted. The man reads it again; as before. Charles the Second, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. Charles the Second, king of France! Ma Foy, says the Frenchman, you can no read; Charles the Second, king of France; ha! ha! ha! Charles the Second, king of France when he can catch. Any one may apply the story, whether it was a true one or no.

All the lunar world looks on it, therefore, as a most ridiculous, senseless thing, to make a man a king of a country he has not one foot of land in, nor can have a foot there but what he must fight for.

As to the probability of gaining it, I have nothing to say to it; but if we may guess at his success there by what has been done in other parts of the moon, we find he has fought three campaigns to lose every foot he had got.

It had been much more to the honour of the Eagle's conduct, and of the young hero himself, first to have let him have faced his enemy in the field, and as soon as he had beaten him, the Ebronians would have acknowledged him fast enough; or his own victorious troops might have proclaimed him at the gate of their capital city; and if after all the success of the war had denied him the crown he had fought for, he had the honour to have shown his bravery, and he had been where he was, a prince of the great lip. A son of the Eagle is a title much more honourable than a king without a crown, without subjects, without a kingdom, and another man upon his throne; but by this declaring him king, the old Eagle has put him under a necessity of gaining the kingdom of Ebronia, which at best is a great hazard, or, if he fails, to be miserably despicable, and to bear all his life the constant chagrin of a great title, and no possession.

How ridiculous will this poor young gentleman look, if at last he should be forced to come home again without his kingdom! what a king of clouts will he pass for! and what will this king-making old gentleman, his father, say, when the young hero shall tell him, your majesty has made me a mock king, for all the world to laugh at.

It was certainly the weakest thing that could be, for the Eagle thus to make him a king of that, which were the probability greater than it is, he may easily, without the help of a miracle, be disappointed of.

It is true, the confederates talk big, and have lately had a great victory, and if talk will beat the

king of Ebronia out of his kingdom, he is certainly undone, but we do not find the Gallunarians part with anything they can keep, nor that they quit anything without blows; it must cost a great deal of blood and treasure before this war can be ended; if absolute conquest on one side must be the matter, and if the design on Ebronia should miscarry, as one voyage thither has done already, where are we then? Let any man but look back, and consider what a sorry figure your confederate fleet in your world had made, after their Andalusian expedition, if they had not, more by fate than conduct, chopped upon a booty at Vigo as they came back.

In the like condition will this new king come back, if he should go for a kingdom and should not catch, as the Frenchman called it. It is in the sense of the probability of this miscarriage, that most men wonder at these unaccountable measures, and think the Eagle's councils look a little wildish, as if some of his great men were grown delirious and whimsical, that fancied crowns and kingdoms were to come and go, just as the great divan at their court should direct. This confusion of circumstances has occasioned a certain copy of verses to appear about the moon, which in our characters may be read as follows:

Wondelis Idulasin na Perixola Metartos,
Strigunia Crolias Xerin Hytale fylos;
Farnicos Galvare Orpto sonamet Egonsberch,
Sih lona Sipos Gullia Ropta Tylos.

Which may be Englished thus:

Cæsar you trifle with the world in vain,
Think rather now of Germany than Spain;
He's hardly fit to fill the Eagle's throne,
Who gives new crowns, and can't protect his own.

But after all, to come closer to the point, if I can now make it out that whatever it was before, this very practice of declaring a second son to be king of Ebronia, has publicly owned the proceedings of the king of Gallunaria to be just, and the title of his grandson to be much better than the title of the now declared king, what shall we call it then?

In order to this, it is first necessary to examine the title of the present king, and to enter into the history of his coming to the crown, in which I shall be very brief.

The last king of Ebronia dying without issue, and a former renunciation taking place, the succession devolves on the house of the Eagle as before, of whom the present Eagle is the eldest branch.

But the late king of Ebronia, to prevent the succession of the Eagle's line, makes a will, and supplies the proviso of renunciation by devising, giving, or bequeathing the crown to the grandson of his sister.

The king of Gallunaria insists that this is a lawful title to the crown, and seizes it accordingly, instating his grandson in the possession.

The Eagle alleges the renunciation to confirm his title as heir; and as to the will of the late king, he says, Crowns cannot descend by gift, and though the late king had an undoubted right to enjoy it himself, he had none to give it away.

To make the application of this history as short as may be, I demand then what right has the Eagle to give it to his second son? If crowns are not to descend by gift, he may have a right to enjoy it, but can have none to give it away; but if he has a right to give it away, so had the former king, and then the present king has a better title to it than the new one, because his gift was prior to this of the Eagle.

I would be glad to see this answered; and if it cannot, then I query whether the Eagle's senses ought not to be questioned, for setting up a title on the very foundation for which he quarrels at him that is in possession, and so confirms the honesty of the possessor's title by his own practice.

From the whole, I make no scruple to say that either the Eagle's second son has no title to the kingdom of Ebronia, or else giving of crowns is a legal practice; and if crowns may descend by gift, then has the other king a better title than he, because it was given him first, and the Eagle has only given away what he had no right to, because it was given away before he had any title to it himself.

Further, the posterity of the Eagle's eldest son are manifestly injured in this action, for kings can no more give away their crowns from their posterity, than from themselves; if the right be in the Eagle, it is his, as he is the eldest male branch of the house of the great lip, not as he is Eagle; and from him the crown of Ebronia, by the same right of devolution, descends to his posterity, and rests on the male line of every eldest branch. If so, no act of renunciation can alter this succession, for that is a gift, and the gift is exploded, or else the whole house of the great lip is excluded; so that let the argument be turned and twisted never so many ways, it all centres in this, that the present person can have no title to the crown of Ebronia.

If he has any title, it is from the gift of his father and elder brother; if the gift of a crown is no good title, then his title cannot be good; if the gift of a crown is a good title, then the crown was given away before, and so neither he nor his father has any title.

Let him that can answer these paradoxes defend his title if he can; and what shall we now say to the

war in Ebronia? only this, that they are going to fight for the crown of Ebronia, and to take it away from one that has no right to it, to give it to one that has a less right than he; and it is to be feared, that if heaven be righteous, it will succeed accordingly.

The gentlemen of letters who have wrote of this in our lunar world, on the subject of the Gallunarian title, have took a great deal of liberty in the Eagle's behalf, to banter and ridicule the Gallunarian sham of a title, as if it were a pretence too weak for any prince to make use of, to talk of kings giving their crowns by will.

Kingdoms and governments, says a learned lunar author, are not things of such indifferent value, to be given away, like a token left for a legacy. If any prince has ever given or transferred his government, it has been done by solemn act, and the people have been called to assent. and confirm such concessions.

Then the same author goes on, to treat the king of Gallunaria with a great deal of severity, and exposes his politics, that he should think to put upon the moon with so empty, so weak, so ridiculous a pretence, as the will of a weak-headed prince, who neither had a right to give his crown, nor a brain to know what he was doing; and he laughs to think what the king of Gallunaria would have said to have such a dull trick as that put upon him in any such case.

Now when we have been so witty upon this very article, of giving away the crown to the king of Gallunaria's grandson, as an incongruous and ridiculous thing, shall we come to make the same incongruity be the foundation of a war?

With what justice can we make a war for a prince

who has only a good title by virtue of the self-same action which makes the grandson of his enemy have a bad title.

I always thought we had a just ground to make war on Ebronia, as we were bound by former alliances to assist the Eagle in the recovery of it in case of the death of the late king of that country.

But now the Eagle has refused the succession, and his eldest son has refused it, I would be glad to see it proved how the second son can have a title, and yet the other king have no title.

What a strange sort of a thing is the crown of Ebronia, that two of the greatest princes of the lunar world should fight, not who shall have it, for neither of them will accept of it, but who shall have the power of giving it away.

Here are four princes refuse it; the king of Gallunaria's sons had a title in right of their mother, and it was not the former renunciations that would have barred them, if this softer way had not been found out; for time was, it has been pleaded on behalf of the eldest son of the Gallunarian king, that his mother could not give away his right before he was born.

Then the Eagle has a right, and under him his eldest son; and none of all these four will accept of the crown; I believe all the moon cannot find four more that would refuse it.

Now though none of these think it worth accepting themselves, yet they fall out about the right of giving it away. The king of Gallunaria will not accept of it himself, but he gets a gift from the last incumbent. This, says the Eagle, cannot be a good title, for the late king had no right to make a deed of gift of the crown, since a king is only tenant for life, and succession of crowns either must descend

by a lineal progression in the right of primogeniture, or else they lose the tenure, and devolve on the people.

Now as this argument holds good, the Eagle has an undoubted title to the crown of Ebronia: But then, says his Eaglish majesty, I cannot accept of the crown myself, for I am the Eagle, and my eldest son has two kingdoms already, and is in a fair way to be Eagle after me, and it is not worth while for him, but I have a second son, and we will give it him.

Now may the king of Gallunaria say, If one gift is good, another is good, and ours is the first gift, and therefore we will keep it; and though I solemnly declare I should be very sorry to see the crown of Ebronia rest in the house of the Gallunarian, because our trade will suffer exceedingly; yet if never so much damage were to come of it, we ought to do justice in the world; if neither the Eagle nor his eldest son will be king of Ebronia, but a deed of gift shall be made, the first gift has the right, for nothing can be given away to two people at once, and it is apparent that the late king had as much right to give it away as anybody.

The poor Ebronians are in a fine condition all this while, that nobody concerns them in the matter; neither party has so much as thought it worth while to ask them who they would have to reign over them; here has been no assembly, no cortes, no meeting of the people of Ebronia, neither collectively or representatively, no general convention of the nobility, no house of feathers; but Ebronia lies as the spoil of the victor, wholly passive; and her people and princes, as if they were wholly unconcerned, lie by and look on; whoever is like to be king, they are like to suffer deeply by the strife, and yet neither side has thought fit to consult them about it.

The conclusion of the whole matter is in short this; here is certainly a false step taken, how it shall be rectified is not the present business, nor am I wise enough to prescribe. One man may do in a moment what all the lunar world cannot undo in an age. It is not to be thought the Eagle will be prevailed on to undo it, nay, he has sworn not to alter it.

I am not concerned to prove the title of the present king of Ebronia, no, nor of the Eagle's neither; but I think I can never be answered in this, that this gift of the Eagle's to his second son is preposterous, inconsistent with all his claim to the crown, and the greatest confirmation of the title of his enemy that it was possible to give, and no doubt the Gallunarians will lay hold of the argument.

If this prince was the Eagle's eldest son, he might have a just right from the concession of his father, because the right being inherent, he only received from him an investiture of time; but as this young gentleman is a second son, he has no more right, his elder brother being alive, than your grand seignior, or czar of Muscovy, in your world.

Let them fight then for such a cause, who, valuing only the pay, make war a trade, and fight for anything they are bid to fight for; and as such value not the justice of the war, nor trouble their heads about causes and consequences so they have their pay, it is well enough for them.

But were the justice of the war examined, I can see none; this declaring a new king who has no right but by a gift, and pulling down one that had it by a gift before, has so much contradiction in it, that I am afraid no wise man or honest man will embark in it.

Your humble servant,
The Man in the Moon.

I would have nobody now pretend to scandalize the writer of this letter, which being for the Gallunarians, for no man in the moon had more aversion for them than he, but he would have had the war carried on upon a right bottom, justice and honesty regarded in it; and, as he said often, they had no need to go out of the road of justice, for had they made war in the great Eagle's name all had been well.

Nor was he a false prophet, for as this was ill grounded, so it was as ill carried on, met with shocks, rubs, and disappointments, every way. The very first voyage the new king made, he had like to have been drowned by a very violent tempest, things not very usual in those countries; and all the progress that had been made in his behalf when I came away from that lunar world, had not brought him so much as to be able to set his foot upon his new kingdom of Ebronia; but his adversary, by wonderful dexterity, and the assistance of his old grandfather, the Gallunarian monarch, beat his troops upon all occasions, invaded his ally that pretended to assist him, and kept a quiet possession of all the vast Ebronian monarchy; and but at last, by the powerful diversion of the Solunarian fleet, a shock was given them on another side, which if it had not happened, it was thought the new king had been sent home again *re infecta*.

Being very much shocked in my judgment of this affair, by these unanswerable reasons, I enquired of my author who were the directors of this matter: he told me plainly it was done by those great statesmen which the Solunarian queen had lately very justly turned out, whose politics were very unaccountable in a great many other things, as well as in that.

It is true, the war was carried on under the new

ministry, and no war in the world can be juster, on account of the injustice and encroachment of the Gallunarian monarch.

The queen, therefore, and her present ministers, go on with the war on principles of confederacy; it is the business of the Solunarians to beat the invader out, and then let the people come and make a fair decision who they will have to reign over them.

This indeed justifies the war in Ebronia to be right, but for the personal procedure as before, it is all contradiction and can never be answered.

I hope no man will be so malicious as to say I am hereby reflecting on our war with Spain. I am very forward to say, it is a most just and reasonable war: as to parallels between the cases of the princes, in defending the matter of personal right, *hic labor, hoc opus.*

Thus however you see *humanum est errare*, whether in this world or in the moon, it is all one; infallibility of councils, any more than of doctrine, is not in man.

The reader may observe, I have formerly noted there was a new Consolidator to be built, and observed what struggle there was in the moon about choosing the feathers.

I cannot omit some further remarks here, as

1. It is to be observed, that this last Consolidator was in a manner quite worn out. It had indeed continued but three years, which was the stated time by law, but it had been so hurried, so party-rid, so often had been up in the moon, and made so many such extravagant flights and unnecessary voyages thither, that it began to be exceedingly worn and defective.

2. This occasioned that the light fluttering feathers and the fermented feathers made strange

work of it; nay, sometimes they were so hot, they were like to have ruined the whole fabric, and had it not been for the great feather in the centre, and a few negative feathers who were wiser than the rest, all the machines had been broke to pieces, and the whole nation put into a most strange confusion.

Sometimes their motion was so violent and precipitant, that there was great apprehensions of its being set on fire by its own velocity, for swiftness of motion is allowed by the sages and so so's to produce fire, as in wheels, mills, and several sorts of mechanic engines, which are frequently fired; and so in thoughts, brains, assemblies, Consolidators, and all such combustible things.

Indeed these things were of great consequence, and therefore require some more nice examination than ordinary, and the following story will in part explain it.

Among the rest of the broils they had with the grandees, one happened on this occasion.

One of the tacking feathers being accidentally met by a grandee's footman, whom it seems wanted some manners, the slave began to halloo him in the street with, A tacker, a tacker, a feather-fool, a tacker, &c.; and so brought the mob about him; and had not the grandee himself come in the very interim, and rescued the feather, the mob had demolished him, they were so enraged.

As this gentleman-feather was rescued with great courtesy by the grandee, taken into his coach and carried home to his house, he desired to speak with the footman.

The fellow being called in, was asked by him who employed him, or set him on to offer him this insult: the footman, being a ready bold fellow, told him, Nobody sir, but you are all grown so ridiculous

to the whole nation, that if the hundred and thirty-four of you were left but to us footmen, and it was not in more respect to our masters, than you, we should cure you of ever coming into the Consolidator again; and all the people in the moon are of our mind.

But, says the feather, why do you call me fool too? Why sir, says he, because nobody could ever tell us what it was you drove at, and we have been told you never knew yourselves; now if one of you tacking feathers would but tell the world what your real design was, they would be satisfied; but to be leaders in the Consolidator, and to act without meaning, without thought or design, must argue you are fools, or worse, and you will find all the moon of my mind.

But what if we had a meaning? says the feather man. Why then, says the footman, we shall leave calling you fools, and call you knaves, for it could never be an honest one, so that you had better stand as you do: and I make it out thus.

You knew, that upon your tacking the Crolians to the tribute bill, the grandees must reject both, they having declared against reading any bills tacked together, as being against their privileges. Now if you had any design, it must be to have the bill of tribute lost, and that must be to disappoint all the public affairs, expose the queen, break all measures, discourage the confederates, and putting all things backward, bring the Gallunarian forces upon them, and put all Solunaria into confusion. Now sir, says he, we cannot have such coarse thoughts of you as to believe you could design such dark, mischievous things as these, and therefore we chose to believe you all fools, and not fit to be put into a Consolidator again, than knaves and traitors to your country, and consequently fit for a worse place.

The plainness of the footman was such, and so unanswerable, that his master was fain to check him, and so the discourse broke off, and we shall leave it there, and proceed to the story.

The men of the feather, as I have noted, who are represented here by the Consolidator, fell all together by the ears, and all the moon was in a combustion. The case was as follows.

They had three times lost their qualifying law, and particularly they observed the grandees were the men that threw it out, and notwithstanding the plot of the tackers, as they called them, who were, as I noted, observed to be in conjunction with the Crolians, yet the law always passed the feathers, but still the grandees quashed it.

To show their resentment at the grandees, they had often made attempts to mortify them, sometimes arraigning them in general, sometimes impeaching private members of their house; but still all would not do, the grandees had the better of them, and going on with regularity and temper, the consolidators, or feather-men, always had the worst, the grandees had the applause of all the moon, had the last blow on every occasion, and the other sunk in their reputation exceedingly.

It is necessary to understand here, that the men of the feather serve in several capacities, and under several denominations, and act by themselves; singly considered, they are called the Consolidator, and the feathers we mentioned, abstracted from their persons, make the glorious engine we speak of, and in which, when any sudden motion takes them, they can all shut themselves up, and away for the moon.

But when these are joined with the grandees and the queen, so united, they make a great cortes, or general collection of all the governing authority of the nation.

When this last fraction happened, the men of the feather were under an exceeding ferment; they had, in some passion, taken into their custody some good honest lunar countrymen, for an offence which indeed few but themselves ever imagined was a crime, for the poor men did nothing but pursue their own right by the law.

It is thought the men of the feather soon saw they were in the wrong, but acted like some men in our world, that when they make a mistake, being too proud to own themselves in the wrong, run themselves into worse errors to mend it.

So these lunar gentlemen disdaining to have it said they could be mistaken, committed two errors to conceal one, till at last they came to be laughed at by all the moon.

These poor men having lain a long while in prison, for little or no crime, at last were advised to apply themselves to the law for discharge; the law would fairly have discharged them; for in that country, no man may be imprisoned but he must in a certain time be tried, or let go upon pledges of his friends, much like our giving bail on a writ of *Habeas corpus;* but the judges, whether overawed by the feathers, or what was the cause authors have not determined, did not care to venture discharging them.

The poor men thus remanded, applied themselves to the grandees, who were then sitting, and who are the sovereign judicature of the country, and before whom appeals lie from all courts of justice. The grandees, as in duty bound, appeared ready to do them justice, but the queen was to be applied to, first to grant a writ, or a warrant for a writ, called in their country a writ of follies, which is as much as to say, mistakes.

The consolidators foreseeing the consequence,

immediately applied themselves to the queen with an address, the terms of which were so undu——l and unman—ly, that had she not been a queen of unusual candour and goodness, she would have treated them as they deserved, for they upbraided her with their freedom and readiness in granting her supplies, and therefore as good as told her they expected she should do as they desired.

These people, that knew the supplies given were, from necessity, legal, and for their own defence, while the granting their request must have been illegal, arbitrary, a dispensing with the laws, and denying justice to her subjects, the very thing they ruined her father for, were justly provoked to see their good queen so barbarously treated.

The queen, full of goodness and calmness, gave them a gentle kind answer, but told them she must be careful to act with due regard to the laws, and could not interrupt the course of judicial proceedings; and at the same time granted the writ, having first consulted with her council, and received the opinion of all the judges, that it was not only safe, but just and reasonable, and a right to her people which she could not deny.

This proceeding galled the feathers to the quick, and finding the grandees resolved to proceed judicially upon the said writ of follies, which if they did, the prisoners would be delivered and the follies fixed upon the feathers, they sent their poursuivants, took them out of the common prison, and conveyed them separately and privately into prisons of their own.

This rash and unprecedented proceeding pushed them further into a labyrinth, from whence it was impossible they could ever find their way out but with infinite loss to their reputation, like a sheep in a thick wood, that at every briar pulls some of

the wool from her back, till she comes out in a most scandalous pickle of nakedness and scratches.

The grandees immediately published six articles in vindication of the people's right, against the assumed privileges of the feathers, the abstract of which is as follows:

1. That the feathers had no right to claim, or make any new privileges for themselves, other than they had before.

2. That every freeman of the moon had a right to repel injury with law.

3. That imprisoning the five countrymen by the feathers, was assuming a new privilege they had no right to, and a subjecting the subject's right to their arbitrary votes.

4. That a writ of deliverance, or removing the body, is the legal right of every subject in the moon, in order to his liberty, in case of imprisonment.

5. That to punish any person for assisting the subject, in procuring or prosecuting the said writ of deliverance, is a breach of the laws, and a thing of dangerous consequence.

6. That a writ of follies is not a grace, but a right, and ought not to be denied to the subject.

These resolves struck the languishing reputation of the feathers with the dead palsy, and they began to stink in the nostrils of all the nations in the moon.

But besides this, they had one strange effect, which was a prodigious disappointment to the men of the feather.

I had observed before, that there was to be a new set of feathers provided, in order to building another Consolidator, according to a late law for a new engine every three years. Now several of these men of the feather, who thought their feathers capa-

ble of serving again, had made great interest, and been at great cost to have their old feathers chosen again, but the people had entertained such scoundrel opinions of these proceedings, such as tacking, consolidating, imprisoning electors, impeaching without trial, writs of follies, and the like, that if any one was known to be concerned in any of these things, nobody would vote for him.

The gentlemen were so mortified at this, that even the hottest high-church Solunarian of them all, if he put in anywhere to be re-chosen, the first thing he had to do, was to assure the people he was no tacker, none of the hundred and thirty-four; and a vast deal of difficulty they had to purge themselves of this blessed action, which they used to value themselves on before, as their glory and merit.

Thus they grew ashamed of it, as a crime, got men to go about to vouch for them to the country people, that they were no tackers; nay, one of them, to clear himself, loudly forswore it, and taking a glass of wine, wished it might never pass through him, if he was a tacker, though all men suspected him to be of that number too, he having been one of the forwardest that way, on all occasions, of any person among the south folk of the moon.

In like manner, one of the feathers for the middle province of the country, who used to think it his honour to be for the qualifying law, seeing which way the humour of the country ran, took as much pains now to tell the people he was no tacker, as he did before to promise them that he would do his utmost to have the Crolians reduced, and that bill to pass; the reason of which was plain, that he saw, if it should be known he was a tacker, he should never have his feather returned, to be put into the Consolidator.

The heats and feuds that the feathers and the grandees were now run into, began to make the latter very uneasy, and they sent to the grandees to hasten them, and put them in mind of passing some laws they had sent up to them for raising money, and which lay before them; knowing that as soon as those laws were past, the queen would break them up; and they being very willing to be gone, before these things came too far upon the stage, urged them to despatch.

But the grandees resolving to go through with the matter, sent to them to come to a treaty on the foot of the six articles, and to bring any reasons they could, to prove the power they had to act as they had done with the countrymen, and with the lawyers they had put in prison for assisting them.

The feathers were very backward and stiff about this conference, or treaty, till at last the grandees having sufficiently exposed them to all the nation, the bills were passed, the grandees caused the particulars to be printed, and a representation of their proceedings, and the feathers' foul dealings to the queen of the country, and so her majesty sent them home.

But if they were ashamed of being called tackers before, they were doubly mortified at this now; nay, the country resented it so exceedingly, that some of them began to consider whether they should venture to go home or no; printed lists of their names were published, though we do not say they were true lists for it was a hard thing to know which were true lists, and which were not, nor indeed could a true list be made, no man being able to retain the exact account of who were the men, in his memory.

For as there were a hundred and thirty-four tackers, so there were a hundred and forty-one of

these, who by a name of distinction, were called Lebusyraneim, in English, Aylesbury-men.

The people were so exasperated against these, that they expressed their resentment upon all occasions; and lest the queen should think that the nation approved the proceedings, they drew up a representation or complaint, full of most dutiful expressions to their queen, and full of resentment against the feathers; the copy of which being handed about the moon the last time I was there, I shall take the pains to put it into English in the best manner I can, keeping as near the original as possible.

If any man shall now wickedly suggest, that this relation has any retrospect to the affairs of England, the author declares them malicious misconstruers of his honest relation of matters from this remote country, and offers his positive oath for their satisfaction, that the very last journey he made into those lunar regions, this matter was upon the stage, of which, if this treatise was not so near its conclusion, the reader might expect a more particular account.

If there is any analogy or similitude between the transactions of either world, he cannot account for that; 'tis application makes the ass.

And yet sometimes he has thought, as some people fable of the Platonic year, that after such a certain revolution of time, all things are transacted over again, and the same people live again, are the same fools, knaves, philosophers and madmen, they were before, though without any knowledge of, or retrospect to what they acted before; so why should it be impossible, that as the moon and this world are noted before to be twins and sisters, equal in motion and in influence, and perhaps in qualities, the same secret power should so act them, as that like actions and circumstances should happen in all parts of both worlds at the same time.

I leave this thought to the improvement of our royal learned societies of the anticacofanums, opposotians, periodicarians, antepredestinarians, universal soulians, and such like unfathomable people, who, without question, upon mature inquiry, will find out the truth of this matter.

But if any one shall scruple the matter of fact as I have here related it, I freely give him leave to do as I did, and go up to the moon for a demonstration; and if upon his return he does not give ample testimony to the case in every part of it, as here related, I am content to pass for the contriver of it myself, and be punished as the law shall say I deserve.

Nor was this all the public matters in which this nation of Solunarians took wrong measures; for about this time, the misunderstandings between the southern and northern men began again, and the Solunarians made several laws, as they called them, to secure themselves against the dangers they pretended might accrue from the new measures the Nolunarians had taken; but so unhappily were they blinded by the feuds among themselves, and beset by opinion and interest, that every law they made, or so much as attempted to make, was really to the advantage, and to the interest of the northern men, and to their own loss; so ignorantly and weak-headed were these high Solunarian churchmen in the true interest of their country, led by their implacable malice at Crolianism, which, as is before noted, was the established religion of that country.

But as this matter was but transacting when I took the other remarks, and that I did not obtain a full understanding of it till my second voyage, I refer it to a more full relation of my further travels that way, when I shall not fail to give a clear state of the debate of the two kingdoms,

in which the southern men had the least reason and the worst success that ever they had in any affair of that nature for many years before.

It was always my opinion in affairs on this side the moon, that though sometimes a foolish bolt may hit the point, and a random shot kill the enemy, yet that generally discretion and prudence of management had the advantage, and met with a proportioned success, and things were or were not happy in their conclusion, as they were more or less wisely contrived and directed.

And though it may not be allowed to be so here, yet I found it more constantly so there, effects were true to their causes, and confusion of counsels never failed in the moon to be followed by distracted and destructive consequences.

This appeared more eminently in the dispute between these two lunar nations we are speaking of; never were people in the moon, whatever they might be in other places, so divided in their opinions about a matter of such consequence. Some were for declaring war immediately upon the northern men, though they could show no reason at all why, only because they would not do as they would have them. A parcel of poor scoundrel, scabby rogues, they ought to be made submit! What! won't they declare the same king as we do! hang them, rogues! a pack of Crolian, Prestarian devils, we must make them do it: down with them the shortest way, declare war immediately, and down with them! Nay, some were for falling on them directly, without the formality of declaring war.

Others, more afraid than hurt, cried out 'invasions, depredation, fire and sword, the northern men would be upon them immediately;' and proposed to fortify their frontiers, and file off their forces to the borders: nay, so apprehensive did those men of

prudence pretend to be, that they ordered towns to be fortified a hundred mile off of the place, when all this while the poor northern men did nothing but tell them that unless they would come to terms, they would not have the same king as they, and then took some measures to let them see they did not purpose to be forced to it.

Another sort of wiser men than these, proposed to unite with them, hear their reasons, and do them right. These indeed were the only men that were in the right method of concluding this unhappy broil, and for that reason, were the most unlikely to succeed.

But the wildest notion of all, was, when some of the grandees made a grave address to the queen of the country, to desire the northern men to settle matters first, and to tell them, that when that was done, they should see what these would do for them. This was a home stroke, if it had but hit, and the misfortune only lay in this, that the northern men were not fools enough; the clearness of the air in those cold climates generally clearing the head so early, that those people see much further into a millstone, than any blind man in all the southern nations of the moon.

There was another unhappiness in this case, which made the matter yet more confused, and that was, that the soldiers had generally no gust to this war. This was an odd case; for those sort of gentlemen, especially in the world in the moon, don't use to inquire into the justice of the case they fight for, but they reckon it is their business to go where they are sent, and kill anybody they are ordered to kill, leaving their governors to answer for the justice of it. But there was another reason to be given why the men of the sword were so averse, and always talked coldly of the fighting part; and though the

northern men called it fear, yet I cannot join with them in that, for to fear requires thinking; and some of our Solunarians are absolutely protected from the first, because they never meddle with the last, except when they come to the engine, and therefore it is plain it could not proceed from fear.

It has puzzled the most discerning heads of the age, to give a reason from whence this aversion proceeded, and various judgments have been given of it.

The Nolunarians jested with them, and when they talked of fighting, bade them look back into history, and examine what they ever made of a Nolunarian war, and whether they had not been often well beaten, and sent short home; bid them have a care of catching a tartar, as we call it, and always made themselves merry with it.

They bantered the Solunarians too, about the fears and terrors they were under, from their arming themselves, and putting themselves in a posture of defence, when it was easy to see by the nature of the thing, that their design was not a war, but a union upon just conditions; that it was a plain token that they designed either to put some affront upon the Nolunarians, to deny them some just claims, or to impose something very provoking upon them more than they had yet done, that they were so exceeding fearful of an invasion from them.

Though these were sufficient to pass for reasons in other cases, yet it could not be so here; but I saw there must be something else in it. As I was thus wondering at this unusual backwardness of the soldiers, I inquired a little further into the meaning of it, and quickly found the reason was plain, there was nothing to be got by it, that the people were brave, desperate, and poor, the country barren, mountainous, and empty, so that in short there would be no-

thing but blows and soldiers' fellows to be had; and I always observed that soldiers never care to be knocked on the head and get nothing by the bargain.

In short, I saw plainly the reasons that prompted the Solunarians to insult their neighbours of the north, were more derived from the regret at their establishing Crolianism, than at any real causes they had given, or indeed were in a condition to give them.

These, and abundance more particular observations I made, but as I left the thing still in agitation and undetermined, I shall refer it to another voyage which I purpose to make thither; and, at my return, may perhaps set that case in a clearer light than our sight can yet bear to look at it in.

If in my second voyage I should undeceive people in the notions they entertained of those northern people, and convince them that the Solunarians were really the aggressors, and had put great hardships upon them, I might possibly do a work that, if it met with encouragement, might bring the Solunarians to do them justice, and that would set all to rights; the two nations might easily become one, and unite for ever, or at least become friends, and give mutual assistance to each other; and I cannot but own such an agreement would make them both very formidable; but this I refer to another time.

At the same time I cannot leave it without a remark that this jealousy between the two nations may perhaps in future ages be necessary to be maintained, in order to find some better reasons for fortifications, standing armies, guards and garrisons, than could be given in the reign of the great prince I speak of, the queen's predecessor, though his was against a foreign insulting enemy.

But the temper of the Solunarian high party was always such, that they would with much more ease give thanks for a standing army against the Nolunarians and Crolians, than agree to one legion against the Abrogratzians and Gallunarians.

But of these things I am also promised a more particular account upon my journey into that country.

I cannot, however, conclude this matter, without giving some account of my private observations upon what was further to be seen in this country.

And had not my remarks on their state matters taken up more of my thoughts than I expected, I might have entered a little upon their other affairs, such as their companies, their commerce, their public offices, their stock-jobbers, their temper, their conversation, their women, their stages, universities, their courtiers, their clergy, and the characters of the severals under all these denominations; but these must be referred to time, and my more perfect observations.

But I cannot omit, that though I have very little knowledge of books, and had obtained less upon their language, yet I could not but be very inquisitive after their libraries and men of letters.

Among their libraries I found not abundance of their own books, their learning having so much of demonstration, and being very hieroglyphical; but I found to my great admiration vast quantities of translated books out of all languages of our world.

As I thought myself one of the first, at least of our nation, that ever came thus far; it was, you may be sure, no small surprise to me, to find all the most valuable parts of modern learning, especially of politics, translated from our tongue into the lunar dialect, and stored up in their libraries with

the remarks, notes, and observations, of the learned men of that climate upon the subject.

Here, among a vast crowd of French authors condemned in this polite world for trifling, came a huge volume containing, *Les Œuvres de Scavans*, which has nineteen small bells painted upon the book, of several disproportioned sizes.

I inquired the meaning of that hieroglyphic, which the master of the books told me, was to signify that the substance was all jingle and noise, and that of thirty volumes which that one book contains, twenty-nine of them have neither substance, music, harmony, nor value in them.

The History of the Fulsomes, or a collection of three hundred fine speeches made in the French academy at Paris, and fifteen hundred gay flourishes out of monsieur Boileau, all in praise of the invincible monarch of France.

The Duke of Bavaria's Manifesto, showing the right of making war against our sovereigns, from whence the people of that lunar world have noted that the same reasons which made it lawful to him to attempt the imperial power, entitle him to lose his own, viz., conquest, and the longest sword.

Jack o' Both Sides, or a dialogue between Pasquin and Marforio, upon the subject-matter of the pope's sincerity in case of the war in Italy; written by a citizen of Ferrara. One side arguing upon the occasion of the pope's general wheedling the imperialists to quit that country; the other bantering imperial policy, or the Germans pretending they were tricked out of Italy, when they could stay there no longer.

Lewis the Invincible, by monsieur Boileau. A poem, on the glory of his most Christian majesty's arms at Hochstedt and Verue.

All these translations have innumerable hieroglyphical notes, and emblems painted on them, which pass as comments, and are readily understood in that climate. For example, on the vol. of dialogues are two cardinals washing the pope's hands under a cloud that often bespatters them with blood, signifying that in spite of all his pretensions he has a hand in the broils of Italy. And before him the sun setting in a cloud, and a blind ballad-singer making sonnets upon the brightness of its lustre.

The Three Kings of Brentford; being some historical observations on three mighty monarchs in our world, whose heroic actions may be the subject of future ages, being like to do little in this; the king of England, king of Poland, and king of Spain. These are described by a figure representing a castle in the air, and three knights pointing at it, but they could not catch.

I omit abundance of very excellent pieces, because remote; as three great volumes of European mysteries, among the vast varieties of which, and very entertaining, I observed but a few, such as these:

1. Why prince Ragotski will make no peace with the emperor. But, more particularly, why the emperor won't make peace with him.

2. Where the policy of the king of Sweden lies, to pursue the king of Poland, and let the Muscovites ravage and destroy his own subjects.

3. What the duke of Bavaria proposed to himself in declaring for France.

4. Why the protestants of the confederacy never relieved the Camisars.

5. Why there are no cowards found in the English service, but among their sea captains.

6. Why the king of Portugal did not take

Madrid, why the English did not take Cadiz, and why the Spaniards did not take Gibraltar, viz., because the first were fools, the second knaves, and the last Spaniards.

7. What became of all the silver taken at Vigo.

8. Who will be the next king of Scotland.

9. If England should ever want a king, who would think it worth while to accept of it.

10. What specific difference can be produced between a knave, a coward, and a traitor.

Abundance of these mysteries are hieroglyphically described in this ample collection; and without doubt our great collection of annals, and historical observations, particularly the learned Mr. Walker, would make great improvements there.

But to come nearer home, there, to my great amazement, I found several new tracts out of our own language, which I could hardly have imagined it possible should have reached so far.

As first, sundry Transactions of our Royal Society about winds, and a valuable dissertation of Dr. B——'s about wind in the brain.

A discourse of poisons, by the learned Dr. M——, with lunar notes upon it, wherein it appears that Dr. C——d had more poison in his tongue than all the adders in the moon have in their teeth.

Nec Non, or lawyers' Latin turned into lunar burlesque. The hieroglyphic was, the queen's money tossed in a blanket, dedicated to the attorney general, and five false Latin councillors.

Mandamus; as it was acted at Abb—ton assizes, by Mr. So——r general, where the qu—n had her own so——r against her for a bad cause, and never a counsel for her in a good one.

Lunar Reflections; being a list of about two thousand ridiculous errors in history, palpable falsities, and scandalous omissions, in Mr. Collier's geogra-

phical dictionary; with a subsequent inquiry, by way of appendix, into which are his own, and which he has ignorantly deduced from ancient authors.

Assassination and Killing of Kings, proved to be a Church of England doctrine; humbly dedicated to the prince of Wales, by Mr. Collier and Mr. Snat; wherein their absolving sir John Friend and sir William Parkins without repentance, and while they both owned and justified the fact, is vindicated and defended.

Les Bagatelles, or Brom——y's travels into Italy, a choice book, and by great accident preserved from the malicious design of the author, who diligently bought up the whole impression, for fear they should be seen, as a thing of which this ungrateful age was not worthy.

Killing no Murder; being an account of the severe justice designed to be inflicted on the barbarous murderers of the honest constable at Bow, but unhappily prevented by my lord N——m being turned out of his office.

De Modo Belli, or an account of the best method of making conquests and invasions *a la mode de Port St. Mary;* three volumes in octavo, dedicated to sir Hen. Bell——s.

King Charles I. proved a T——t; by Edward earl of Clarendon, three vols. in fol. Dedicated to the university of Oxford.

The Bawdy Poets; or new and accurate editions of Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus, being the maidenhead of the new printing press at Cambridge, dedicated by the editor, Mr. Ann——y, to the university; and in consideration of which, and some disorders near Casterton, the university thought him fit to represent them in p——t.

Alms no Charity; or the skeleton of sir Humphry

Mackworth's bill for the relief of the poor; being an excellent new contrivance to find employment for all the poor in the nation, viz., by setting them at work, to make all the rest of the people as poor as themselves.

Synodicum Superlativum; being sixteen large volumes of the vigorous proceedings of the English convocation, digested into years, one volume to every year. Wherein are several large lists of the heretical, atheistical, deistical and other pernicious errors which have been condemned in that venerable assembly, the various services done, and weighty matters despatched, for the honour of the English church, for sixteen years last past, with their formal proceedings against Asgil, Coward, Toland and others, for reviving old antiquated errors in doctrine, and publishing them to the world as their own.

New Worlds in Trade; being a vast collection out of the journals of the proceedings of the right honourable the commissioners of trade, with several eminent improvements in general negoce, vast schemes of business, and new discoveries of settlements and correspondences in foreign parts, for the honour and advantage of the English merchants; being twelve volumes in folio, and very scarce and valuable books.

Legal Rebellion, or an argument proving that all sorts of insurrections of subjects against their princes, are lawful, and to be supported whenever they suit with our occasions; made good from the practice of France with the Hungarians, the English with the Camisars, the Swede with the Poles, the emperor with the subjects of Naples, and all the princes of the world as they find occasion; a large volume in folio, with a poem upon the sacred right of kingly power.

Ignis Fatuus, or the Occasional Bill in miniature; a farce, as it was acted by his excellency the lord Gr——il's servants in Carolina.

Running away the Shortest Way to Victory; being a large dissertation, showing to save the queen's ships is the best way to beat the French.

The Tookites, a poem upon the 134.

A New Tract upon Trade; being a demonstration that to be always putting the people upon customary mourning, and wearing black upon every state occasion, is an excellent encouragement to trade, and a means to employ the poor.

City Gratitude; being a poem on the statue erected by the court of aldermen at the upper end of Cheapside, to the immortal memory of king William.

There were many more tracts to be found in this place; but these may suffice for a specimen, and to excite all men that would increase their understandings in human mysteries, to take a voyage to this enlightened country; where their memories, thinking faculties, and penetration, will no question be so tacked and consolidated, that when they return, they will all write memoirs of the place, and communicate to their country the advantages they have reaped by their voyage, according to the laudable example of their

Most humble servant,

THE MAN IN THE MOON.

THE END OF THE CONSOLIDATOR.

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